

The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

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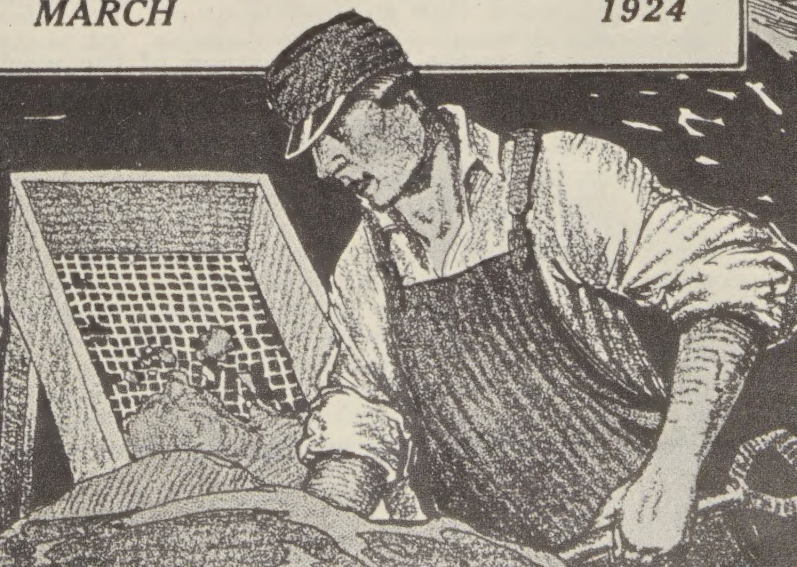
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MARCH

1924



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



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MARCH, 1924

No. 11

History and Civics in Senior High Schools

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

THIS impressive and striking article is worthy of close perusal despite its length. It is written by a teacher in a conventional preparatory school and attacks "our" educational system on its own grounds. Its argument should be easily understood not only by the workers with whom it is largely concerned, but also by people outside of the militant labor movement.

Its plea for dynamic as opposed to the static influences in education can also be made in behalf of other branches of social activity. All society needs to be freed from traditional beliefs and institutions in order that further development may be possible. And in no branch does this apply as in labor unionism, where, as in education, attempts are being made to perpetuate dominant types indefinitely; all for the like continuance of the present anti-social system.

With this parallel suggestion in mind, we again urge a close perusal of the article by the reader.

I. FOREWORD:

The writer of this paper believes that the problem of education is the supreme and fundamental problem of society; that clear understanding of this problem and resolute, effective action under the guidance of such understanding are the only hope of freedom and happiness for the individual or of real intelligence, conscience and will in the State; and that this understanding of education is inconceivable unless there shall be not only **unflinching determination to penetrate below the surface of all social phenomena, all social and political institutions, and to submit these institutions to the severest scrutiny, but also unhesitating courage in accepting conclusions indicated by the facts discovered, regardless of consequences to any traditional beliefs.**

Further, since some criterion is necessary for determining one's methods and conclusions, the writer

accepts what may be called the methods of natural science as the only methods that can be trusted in the task of finding the truth—or some approach to the truth. Moreover, in view of the vast and far-reaching human interests involved in the attempt so to reorganize the educational system of the United States as to furnish a citizenship conscious of or adequate for the tasks and problems of today and tomorrow, he feels bound to approach any and every situation and proposal with critical faculties alive and alert. In order not to dissipate his energies by attempting too much, he undertakes in this paper to discuss History and Civics teaching only as applied to boys and girls at the point of their greatest maturity, in the period of secondary education as forming, for the ends of citizenship, one relatively homogeneous unit. The supreme motif in this teaching is held to be that of **effective functioning of the**

individual with others in a social process which has no meaning except as it is DYNAMIC, and the two subjects coupled in this course are held to be subordinate departments of SOCIOLOGY.

In addition to other sources of educational information and stimulus, the writer desires to acknowledge his great obligation to the most painstaking, the most suggestive, the most inclusive, and the most courageous of all sociologists in the search for truth and in the effort to make social science the instrument of intellectual emancipation—and indirectly of social and economic emancipation—of mankind: Lester F. Ward.

II. BASIC FACTS AND PRINCIPLES IN THE MIND OF THE TEACHER OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

"WE are educating today in the Secondary Schools the America of 1940."—Professor Williams, Univ. of California.

"This is an age of confusion.

"Another world war will destroy civilization."
—Professor Aikin.

"Another world war is inevitable under the stimulus of nationalistic patriotism and the domination of capitalist imperialism."—The substance of lectures by Prof. Hayes, of Columbia University, N. Y. City.

"Much depends upon the faith of teachers in the possibility of a better social order than now exists."
—Professor Aikin.

"We are living in the Stone Age of the Art of Government."
—Lester F. Ward.

The teacher who approaches the task of teaching history and civics in Senior High School—or anywhere else—lacking the clear, reasoned perception of certain basic facts and principles as the ground upon which to frame a program of instruction is in exactly the same condition relative to efficiency or worth as a ship at sea without rudder or compass or captain; such a teacher is wasting public funds and constitutes a menace to the social structure.

What are some of the basic facts and principles which the useful, efficient teacher will possess as the background of all thinking and the criterion of effective action? They are indicated in part by the above quotations, and some of them may be stated in the following propositions:

1. This is an age of widespread confusion of thought and action, especially in certain strata of society, due to the complete absence from our supposedly educational agencies, from elementary school to university inclusive, of frank statement and vigorous presentation of the findings of evolutionary and social science; and the further fact that no existing political state represents either a social intelligence or a true social objective.

2. Society, considered not as the sum total of existing institutions, but as **The Human Race Seen in Historical Perspective**, is not STATIC but DYNAMIC; not fixed, but changing, growing and OUT-

GROWING. A true idea of society is given to any individual only as this growing and outgrowing character of the whole social process is made clear and becomes a part of consciousness—and also, only as the basic factors which give the social process this quality are also made known.

3. Social evolution has thus far been—and is still—the product of forces **neither understood nor directed by social intelligence and social forethought**. Social intelligence in the sense of a social consciousness, a social will, and a social objective inclusive of the equal welfare of all the individuals composing society does not exist in America. **The Creation of this Consciousness and Will and Objective is the Supreme Task of Citizenship.**

4. The so-called social institutions, such as church, government, industry, and school as they now exist are static in their nature, regardless what high-sounding names or sanctions are formally given them, and are now the servants of a single class in society and in their present form cannot be the servants of all the people, nor the agencies of any society conscious of inclusive social functions.

5. The combination of that nationalistic patriotism which our schools, under the control of a capitalistically minded and organized State, have been and are still zealously fostering in the minds of our youth, together with our capitalist imperialism which has dictated the vast war-preparedness making what is called with rare irony "Christendom" not only one great army camp, but a mammoth powder magazine, exploding in 1914 in a four years wholesale slaughter of the flower of "Christendom's" young men for which there was not the smallest compensation except for munition makers, profiteers, and finance imperialists, and now preparing with feverish activity for the next world war—this combination is rapidly and effectively, and by the admission of the very educators who are promoting this nationalistic patriotism, carrying the world toward a disaster of almost inconceivable proportions.

6. The United States is not a democracy—never has been a democracy—but, like all the rest of the nations today, it is an ARENA in which is now going on a terrific and continuous struggle—blind though it be in a large measure as to ultimate objectives—for the ending of all exploitation of man by man, of the many by the few, and for the organization of one all-inclusive partnership for the conquest of nature and the harnessing of the social forces for the well-being and happiness of all. This is the only significant or worth while social or political struggle on this planet, and in its success the hopes and needs and fulfillments of human life are involved as they never were involved in any previous event or movement in all history. **THE CENTER AND HEART OF THIS SIGNIFICANT STRUGGLE IS THE MILITANT AND THEREFORE INTELLIGENT MINORITY OF THE ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS.**

7. An unvarying incident of society as a social process is the survival of customs, habits and institutions having their origin in periods of practically

universal ignorance and by the agency of brute force or cunning, which are no longer valuable; and one of the major obligations of intelligent citizenship is the elimination of these relics of ignorance and savagery and their replacement with institutions which owe their existence to the demands of awakening intelligence and the findings of social science.

8. The pupils of our High Schools and the vast mass of children in the nation to whom the High Schools have never reached or even tried to reach are to be the active, responsible citizens of tomorrow and to face the realities of this fluent, growing and outgrowing society.

9. Unless these pupils possess a clear knowledge of the meaning of the social forces, unless they are freed from the illusions and delusions imposed upon their childhood minds by the teachings of a church whose face is always and always has been either turned fixedly toward the very distant past of childish fancies or toward a non-existent future in the skies, they will become either slave-drivers or slaves or indifferent spectators of the operation of an industrial slave system: in any case unintelligent victims of a morally and socially meaningless process.

10. In this alleged democracy, the vast majority of the population are wage-workers and farmers: producers of all the wealth of the nation. The children of this alleged democracy's producing classes constitute the vast majority of the children of this nation. And yet, in spite of that law which sets the limit of compulsory schooling at 14—a law obviously dictated, even if unconsciously, by the requirements of our cannibalistic capitalism—it is well known to all educators that our public school system, alleged to have come into existence as democracy's supreme agency for ensuring its own perpetuity thru an intelligent electorate, is not enrolling more than a negligible fraction of these future citizens **During the Years when their Minds Would Be Most Open to the Knowledge of what Citizenship Requires**—and, more tragically still, has nothing to give these children or any others that can fit them for DYNAMIC

CITIZENSHIP even tho its buildings and teaching staff were doubled or quadrupled.

11. Herbert Spencer, writing 63 years ago on education in England, declared that "if by some strange chance not a vestige of us descended to the remote future save a pile of our school books or some college examination papers, we may imagine how puzzled an antiquary of the period would be in finding in them no indication that the learners were ever likely to be parents. 'This must have been the curriculum of their celibates,' we may fancy him concluding. 'I perceive here an elaborate preparation for many things, especially for reading the books of extinct nations, but I find no reference

whatever to the bringing up of children. Evidently this was a school course of one of the monastic orders.'"

Some future investigator of America's present school program would not only reach a similar conclusion from the complete absence of any explanation of the physiology, psychology, and ethics of sex-expression in marriage, but he would also note not the slightest evidence of any consciousness on the part of teachers and educators of the existence of that world-wide movement in the ranks of organized workers for the elimination of our war-breeding capitalism and the construction



THE CLOUD OF CHILD LIFE—CAPITALISM

of a decent and useful social order: the only promise or hope of peace on earth and good will among men.

III. THE PRESENT STATUS OF HISTORY AND CIVICS TEACHING IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, INCLUDING THE STATUS OF THESE SUBJECTS UNDER THE PROPOSED REORGANIZATION PROGRAM:

"American schools are not educating the mass of future citizens."—Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, Bulletin 35.

"The School has been a follower, not a leader. 'Home, government, church, school, industry and commerce, designed to be preservers of

racial experience, have become static, 'cold sterage plants.' "

—Professor Williams, Univ. of Calif.

"It is a strange anachronism that the schooling mechanism for TRAINING MEN TO BE SERFS should have been passed down, **unchanged by tradition**, to become the schooling system of American democracy for the training of free-born, thinking, self-responsible, government-making citizens of the 20th century. **YET THIS FACT STARES AT US COMPLACENTLY IN NEARLY ALL FORMS OF OUR SCHOOLING FROM THE KINDERGARTEN THROUGH THE UNIVERSITIES.**"—Frederic Burk, President San Francisco State Normal.

NOTE: One of the tests used in Insane Asylums to determine whether a patient has regained sanity is to place the patient beside a tub into which water is flowing from an open tap, providing the patient with a pail, and directing him to take the water from the tub. If the patient closes the tap, he is regarded as sane.

1. With exceptions so rare as to be negligible—by the admission of eminent students of our present school system—the status of this department of secondary education which is most potently related to the interests of an effective citizenship is **STATIC**—indeed, reactionary. Surely, no man who understands what citizenship demands as defined by the principles of sociology and by the challenging problems of world peace and a decent social ethics, can say that American youth are receiving in our schools any preparation at all for service in social reconstruction: **THE FIRST NECESSITY OF TODAY AND TOMORROW**. When such a reputed leader in education as Charles W. Eliot can extol the labor scab as a hero, and when American schools can send their students to act as strike-breakers, **THE TORY OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO HAS COME INTO HIS OWN**, and the men who achieved American independence are repudiated. For the men who are in the front trenches of militant labor are the only lineal moral and spiritual posterity of the American revolutionists of 1776, and the upholders of scabbery in industry and of political intolerance and persecution of the representatives of militant labor are the direct spiritual posterity of American and British Tories.

2. Further, it must be noted that America has no agencies for preparing teachers for this crucial function. With our colleges and universities paralyzed by such survivals of autocracy and mediævalism as Nicholas Murray Butler and his like; with nearly all agencies of information and instruction: churches, newspapers, magazines, schools—under the domination of a ruling class blind, ignorant, and indifferent to the need of a new citizenship and bent solely on imperialistic ends, the products of our schools are uniformly obsessed with the instinct of **CONFORMITY** and so sterilized of all progressive or revolutionary spirit. Our school system from kindergarten to university is an apotheosis of the "goose step."

3. The fact that our schools have never once taken the lead in overthrowing any sort of social or political oppression and establishing some new freedom—or even in seeing or realizing the existence of intolerable oppression and of the struggle for a larger freedom—is easily explained by the fact that a class-controlled society is always **STATIC**—a crystallization, not a growth—and that **CONFORMITY PARALYZES the NERVE of ALL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION**. The minds of teachers under such a system are static, not dynamic. The moment the mind of a teacher becomes dynamic, it inevitably becomes insurgent against this reactionary system, and the teacher with such a mind becomes a teacher without a job.

4. It should not surprise anyone, therefore, to find that the status of History and Civics teaching—indeed, of the whole plan of secondary education as outlined in the proposed reorganization of our school system—is still basically static, in no real sense dynamic, as may be seen in the following among many similar facts:

a. There is no real recognition in Bulletins 35, 28, and 23 (U. S. Bureau of Education) of the fundamentally fluent, organic, growing character of human society, and the only adjustment of our potential citizenship proposed in this series of documents is **one that means CONFORMITY**; the very essence of petrification and even reaction. How tragically sterile to the plain lessons of history these minds are, that with the example of the non-conformists of 17th century England who colonized America they cannot rise above a feeble conformity in the face of incomparably graver issues in this 20th century!

b. We are told in Bulletin 28 that the aim of social studies is to enable the student "to adjust himself to his present environment and conditions." "to cultivate good citizenship," which means throughout the whole discussion "loyalty and sense of obligation to his city, State and nation as political units"—as static a conception in the light of all the facts as can be put into words. Think. Did the makers of this plan have clearly in their minds that vast multitude of boys and girls whose inevitable lot under our capitalist industry is that of slaves of the machine in factory, mill, shop, mine, and all the other institutions of our modern slavery? Exactly as a similar committee engaged upon the same task in our own South a century ago would have had clearly in mind the four million black chattels of the cotton fields, as a remoter spiritual ancestry in mediæval Europe would have envisaged the millions of serfs, or as a still remoter set of spiritual ancestors in the "democracy" of Athens would have considered the 350,000 slaves upon which that "democracy" was built!

On not a single page of either of these Bulletins is there a sentence that parallels the words of William Draper Lewis in his "Democracy's High School," where he says: "It is strange that we have been managing our High Schools as if our pupils were to be citizens of a despotism where the highest virtue

is unthinking obedience. **THE HABIT OF RENDERING UNTHINKING OBEDIENCE TO A GOVERNMENT, NO MATTER HOW BENEFICENT, IS EXACTLY THE HABIT MOST FAVORABLE TO THE PARTY BOSS.**" Mr. Lewis's statement needs one correction: **It is not strange at all.**

c. There is no suggestion in this reorganization scheme that the problem of citizenship today is the preparation for and entrance upon **A CREATIVE FUNCTIONING IN A CONSTRUCTIVE PROCESS** aiming at such social reorganization of our whole industrial and political life as shall provide for all the members of society equality of opportunity and conscious partnership in purposes and activities which involve universal well-being. Why? Because that would mean revolution, and the only kind of revolution these men are interested in is one that occurred at least a hundred years ago. Membership in those pathetic jokes of modern American life: the "Sons of the Revolution" and the "Daughters of the Revolution"? By all means, for the only revolutionist any of these "sons" or "daughters" have any respect for is a dead one, exactly as the only "disturber of the peace" whom the galvanized brains of church members can pretend to respect is one whom their spiritual ancestors of long ago hanged on a cross!

When in this reorganization scheme the question of choice of vocation is discussed, the obsession of the authors with the psychology of a middle class view of social activities is evidenced by the fact that there is not a hint that any pupil of High School will or should choose the vocation of mine-worker, factory hand, or garment worker, but "honorable occupations" are named: the professions and such skilled and aristocratic trades as engineers and the like. There is no suggestion that a democratic society cannot and will not tolerate industrial caste.

d. These bulletins nowhere recognize the fact that we now have in America no democracy at all, but rather a farcical system of representation and with it an industrial autocracy with the political government always on the side of the autocrats. Nor is there any evidence that the authors possess any knowledge of social evolution as marked by a division into classes all the way down to and including the present, or of the struggles of oppressed slaves for freedom from enslavement.

There is reiterated emphasis of the static idea that patriotism is one of the primary and indispensable marks of the good citizen and that this patriotism means loyalty to our social institutions **AS THEY ARE**—not a suggestion anywhere that the only patriotism that is historically or ethically justifiable or ennobling is **SUPREME LOYALTY TO THOSE ENDS AND IDEALS WHICH ALONE GIVE ANY SANCTION OR VALUE TO SOCIAL OR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.**

f. An essentially caste idea determines this program: for example, there is oft-repeated emphasis on the necessity of **PROTECTION TO**

PROPERTY as a high civic virtue to be diligently learned by our youth, but it is always **THE PROPERTY OF ONE CLASS ONLY**: the owners of real estate or financial investments. There is not from cover to cover of all these Bulletins any recognition that a tolerable government must afford ample and sure protection for the most valuable property in any nation, and the only property possessed by millions of mine, mill, factory, and agricultural workers: **THEIR LABOR POWER.** **On the contrary, the makers of this reorganization scheme clearly and frankly treat that labor power exactly as it is treated by capitalists: by the Garys of industry, the Morgans of finance, and the Wilsons and Coolidges of politics: AS A COMMODITY LIKE COKE OR PIG-IRON.** Indeed, suggestions for the study of this commodity, **which is the lifeblood of millions of workers,** as a commodity along with others, are made as elements in the education of our High School boys and girls.

The critical reader of this proposed reorganization will also note the limitation of civic agencies in which young citizens are to function, to such as are recognized by business men and made necessary by a capitalist control of industry: charity, social service, relief, etc.,—nowhere any suggestions of their taking part in labor organizations and activities: strikes, unions, agitation, and political solidarity for the control of industry in the interest of freedom, peace, and a decent chance for life, education and leisure. The proposal to bring into the High School this vast mass of boys and girls whose fathers are in steel mills or mines or shops, and many of whose mothers are in our factories, with a view of their getting the instruction planned in this scheme, could be made only by a group of men either lacking wholly in the sense of humor or else utterly ignorant of the basic facts in American social and industrial organization.

Nor is there anything in these Bulletins that could correct the universal impression now entertained in our schools by the mass of teachers and diligently fostered in the minds of pupils that labor unions are disreputable and anti-social bodies, that strikes are vicious and lawless and aimed at social well-being, and that all militant workers belong to the criminal class and deserve the penalty of our "criminal syndicalism" laws with their long prison sentences and their annulment of the first amendment of the Constitution. Truly, not only have the Tories come into their own, but so have the Pharisees and scribes!

g. No estimate or examination of this proposed status of our schools would be complete without reference to the failure to suggest any adequate discussion of the problem of family life. There is no hint in it that family life in America today is impossible, at all for hundreds of thousands of young people by virtue of an organization of industry which negates the idea of marriage for millions and dooms them to an existence destructive of the very notion of home. The need of

grappling with that problem finds no place in these documents. Nearly twenty years ago, Judge Peter S. Grosscup in a public address in Boston that was quoted far and wide in the press, declared: "In America today there are hundreds of thousands of men and women who possess no stake in the nation's property or welfare." He might have said "millions." That our commercially obsessed bosses should be oblivious and indifferent to this situation is not surprising, but that educators charged with the task of organizing an instrument for the promotion of efficient citizenship should not frankly recognize such a situation and demand its solution, is unforgivable.

IV. OBJECTIVES IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

"The school's function is three-fold: to preserve the past, interpret the present and ANTICIPATE the future."

—Professor Williams, Univ. of Calif.

"Education in the United States must be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy."

—Cardinal Principles.

"We must teach a new patriotism."

—Professor Aikin.

"The greater weakness (of proposed curricula) is that they seek to fit children to **take part in life as it is today**. That is, they tend to ignore the demands of a rapidly changing society. We must equip our children to be constructively critical of contemporary social, economic, and political organization."—Professor H. O. Rugg, in 22nd Year Book of N. S. S. E., Part II.

"As doubt is the beginning of intelligence, so discontent is the impulse of progress."

—Lester F. Ward.

In general, the objectives of History and Civics teaching in the Senior High School must be determined by the facts and principles of sociology, involving a knowledge of the main stages of human evolution and of the forces that have operated in the social process, as well as of the status of this social evolution today and of the agencies and movements now actually operating for social reconstruction—also, of course, by a consideration of the individual and social functions and relations to which the efficient and intelligent citizen must adapt himself.

Anyone who is prepared for the job of teaching this crucial subject to boys and girls of the Senior High School age must know that not only the greatest social interests, but also the highest ethical possibilities of these young people require on their part a clear understanding that the big job which will challenge every finest capacity of their natures and make their lives dynamic, an inspiration to themselves and a service to the race, lies in no sort of conformity nor in any mere blind dissent or rebellion—though even that is better than conformity—but

in entering upon citizenship as a task of evaluating the past's achievement in the light of sociology and of present need, and of employing those forces now active for industrial and political reconstruction in the task of building a society home that will shelter and foster the many-sided activities of a conscious social partnership, and give freest rein to creative individual adventure.

Is this vague? Perhaps. But it can be made thoroughly concrete. If boys and girls at the age when their minds are getting impressions that endure are kept free from those silly illusions which make them the easy marks for cunning and self-seeking politicians and profiteers; if they are given a chance to see things as they are—to see, for example, that nationalistic patriotism is bunk of the worst kind—is a positive menace to every interest of a just society; that there is no more virtue in worshipping the symbols of American patriotism than "Deutschland ueber Alles!"; that there is no more virtue in starving to death under the American flag than under the Japanese or any other flag; that the Stars and Stripes can give no sanction whatever to industrial enslavement any more than the Union Jack or the Star and Crescent; that capitalist imperialism is exactly as great a menace when it flies the flag of an alleged republic as when it flies that of a monarchy; that "America" is not a whit more the synonym for "just" or "righteous" than France or England or Italy; in fine, that any and every government, party, program or policy is to be judged not by its flag, but "by its fruits": by what it does and what it is to do and for all its citizens—let a generation of young people go out of a school system with these ideas in their minds backed by unbiassed knowledge of the facts, and you will have here or anywhere a DYNAMIC, not a STATIC citizenship. AND NOT OTHERWISE.

So much in a general way. Specifically, a well-informed teacher with a modern mind AND A BACKBONE would, it seems to me, have at least the following objectives:

1. The development of minds capable of and insistent upon thinking for themselves.
2. The development of DYNAMIC individuals: of individuals who are as far removed in spirit and consciousness as possible from the ant and the bee—individuals incapable of any sort of docile co-operation as slaves or tools whether of individuals or of groups, but capable of the most energetic co-operation in behalf of interests involving the abolition of any form of slavery or the establishment and realization of an all-inclusive freedom and opportunity.
3. The development of minds which cannot be deluded by any kind of an appeal of nationalism or nationalistic patriotism, capable of seeing thru the fog emitted by the self-seeking puppets of profiteers who pose as statesmen in a government which shelters and protects economic despotism and slavery, or by the empty platitudes of a church which has not for 1,700 years at least taken its alleged author seriously—or even understood what that alleged founder was. In a word, the development of a distinctly revolutionary spirit, consciousness and will in

the coming generation are the only qualities that can be called DYNAMIC or that are remotely competent to see or deal with the social problems of today and tomorrow.

a. Consciousness of America as not a Special creation, a Chosen People, but in its historical and evolutionary setting and perspective, as one stage in the agelong struggle of the human race toward freedom: political, economic, industrial, personal.

b. Consciousness that no government or other institution can be regarded as an end in itself, but only as a means to some end which, rightly understood, gives to this means its only claim, if it has any, upon the respect or reverence of any one.

c. Consciousness that the end which alone sanctions any social or political institution is the achievement thru that institution of the well-being and happiness of all the members of society—or at least equality of opportunity according to their abilities.

d. The making of dynamic individuals—individuals sharing the spirit and capacity of all political and social pioneers, and conscious of the civic function as fundamentally a pioneering function.

e. The development of persons conscious of economic responsibility, of the duty of being producers, of directly contributing to the common wealth of society, and refusing to be parasites in any fashion.

f. The development of persons feeling it a primary obligation to construct a social order that leaves no room for parasites. The only serious effort in this direction may be seen in Soviet Russia, where no person may have a voice in government who does not perform useful service in a society organized for the benefit of those who work.

g. Knowledge of and membership in the militant labor organization and movement, national and international, as the only hope for the rebuilding of social institutions on a tolerable basis, ethically, industrially and politically, and the only assurance of putting an end to war between nations.

h. Scientific knowledge on the part of all High School pupils as to the origin of all social institutions and their history: church, government, industry, commerce, family, labor movement, etc., to the end of evaluating them correctly and so determining in a rational way their attitude toward these institutions. To make use of any sort of compulsion or to take advantage of childhood for the purpose of perpetuating any social institution or any creed, is a crime and will sometime be so regarded and treated.

V. THE ORGANIZATION OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

It is obvious to any one that the organization of History and Civics teaching will be determined by the objectives which the teacher considers vital and

imperative, and the correct understanding of those objectives makes organization of teaching program easier and simpler than it could otherwise be. That the psychology of pupils must be taken into consideration in determining methods, may be taken for granted.

If the study of this subject is to have any direct relation to or value for a dynamic citizenship, it must begin with a survey of evolutionary science, thus giving the student one thing which he nowhere gets in our present teaching: namely, a true perspective enabling him to see the phenomena of society in their true relations. Such a survey will do several fundamentally important things for the student:

1. It will sweep his mind free of the cobwebs of superstition and prejudice which Sunday Schools, churches, and other static agencies have produced, and prepare him to see things as they are.

2. It will give him the knowledge that many human conceptions and most social and political institutions—notably church and government—originated in the minds of savages: in minds which could only form fantastic and false notions of phenomena, with the inevitable result that human minds early became and have remained for hundreds of centuries the slaves of ignorance and cunning.

3. It will impress deeply upon the student's mind perhaps the most important element underlying and promoting effective thought and action: namely, that the universe is indifferent toward man, and that the only proper attitude of man toward the universe is that of the active agent, with the objective of mastering all natural forces for universal human well-being.

4. By opening to the mind of the student the vast period covered by the evolutionary process and the comparatively brief period during which anything like intelligence has existed, the exaggerated notions of man himself and his civilization will be eliminated, and at the same time great reassurance will be given as to the possibilities of effective constructive social action, once this knowledge is made general.

5. Such study will also simplify and clarify the social problem by showing that it is summed up in the task of first understanding the social forces as we now understand the physical forces, and then by social co-operation harnessing these forces for the universal good, as the physical forces have been harnessed by individual initiative and under the incentive of personal gain for increasing the wealth of the few and exploiting the labor of the many.

6. With this evolutionary and sociological survey, the study of history and human institutions becomes an illuminating and inspiring process. Illusions fall away and the student becomes consciously a citizen, not of some greedy section of the race ready to take up arms in utter stupidity at the beck of ignorance as millions did in the recent World War against some other section, but of society as a process of slowly changing an ignorant mob into a purposeful co-operating economic and socially creative partnership.

7. No sane man believes, of course, that so stupendous a task as this of effecting peacefully that social reconstruction for which the staggering problems of today are crying out to the manhood and womanhood of the whole world for solution, can be done easily. One of the most tragic dangers besetting this proposed reorganization of our American school system by men who not only frankly admit the futility of the system we now have, but also see clearly that the loss of the most precious things in civilization is the price we must pay for failure to meet this demand for adequate civic education—one of the gravest dangers—a danger that looks out at us everywhere in the timidity of action and narrowness of vision reflected in this reorganization program—is that **this task will not be taken seriously enough.** Whoever imagines that the job of giving dynamic knowledge to the coming generation can be performed by a mass of teachers who confine their vision and activity within the four walls of a school building however well appointed and to the children there assembled, has no vision whatever of his job. Any program of educational reconstruction and of creating a new and conscious citizenship must be carried persistently and aggressively to the whole community and the whole nation, or it will not be carried to the children at all.

The tragedy of our educational thinking today is the idea of keeping the school system separate and apart from the daily life and struggle of all the people, depriving these embryonic citizens of all voice and participation in the social, economic and political system in which they must live, and at the same time keeping the stimulating facts and truths of social science away from the men and women who outside the school walls are groping and muddling along in political futility or hopelessly stumbling up an economic blind alley. If professed educators in our schools do not know that our so-called representative government is today a complete farce so far as even thinking about the economic problems of farmers and wage-workers is concerned, their proposal to inaugurate a reorganization of the schools for the ends of citizenship is an insult to the nation. The Pickwickian attitude toward the ideals exemplified in Jesus can be understood and perhaps excused; the natural product of an institution which for 1900 years has built itself on the very Phariseism which crucified Jesus. But the stupidity and ignorance that talks of a new citizenship and exhibits no comprehension of its task and no disposition to pay the price of creating such a citizenship should not be forgiven or forgotten.

The university extension work is a belated and tragically inadequate tendency toward recognizing that any school system fit for America **MUST BUILD ITS ROOF OVER THE WHOLE FIELD OF OUR LIFE-ACTIVITIES OR LOSE ITS OWN SOUL.** If the people in this country who claim to be educators are intelligent and sincere, they are not going to map out a program based on the question of ward politicians: Will the people support this program? No. They may profitably become acquainted with the facts of that movement in Amer-

ica in the 1770s which created the will and determination for independence. The sole proof of their sincerity will be the adoption of a program which challenges the utmost of their own energy and devotion, and the taking of their program direct to the people at any cost of time and labor.

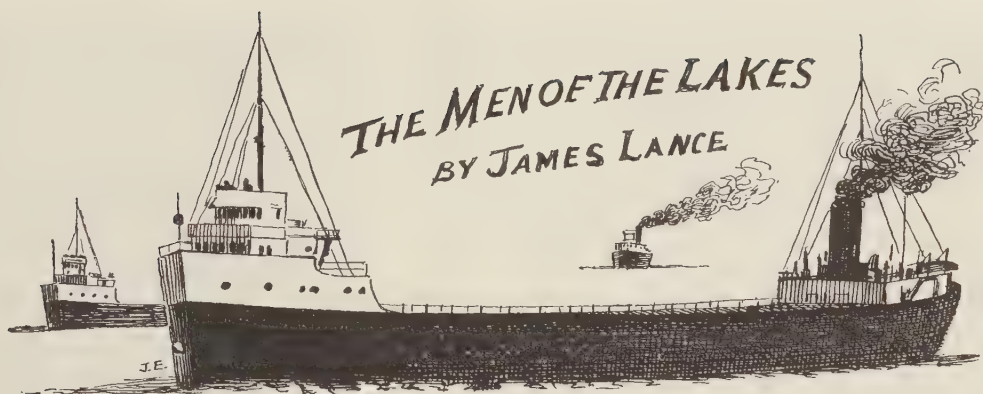
Does some one say: Such a program cannot possibly succeed. It should be answered that any program that does not include the earnest purpose to educate the whole citizenship along with the boys and girls, that does not have complete and far-reaching social reconstruction as its clearly seen goal, **IS A FAILURE BEFORE IT BEGINS AND WOULD BE A DISASTER IF IT SUCCEEDED.** Openly and frankly to confess that the schools have always followed and never led, and then exhibit no purpose or desire or ability to lead is the confession of hopeless kinship with those who have doomed the school in all its past to its place at the tail end of the human procession.

Here is the first question for those to answer who, as officers of the NEA or as professors and presidents of universities, hold places of highest responsibility in our educational system: **DO WE BELIEVE AT ALL IN THE POSSIBILITY OF A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER?** And here is the second question: **HAVE WE ANY PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY THAT GIVES US ANY INKLING AS TO THE PATH ALONG WHICH A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER CAN COME?** There exist in American history itself two or three extremely suggestive facts for our educators and teachers to ponder: Here is one:

It was not Tories, it was not in any sense **CONFORMISTS**, it was not even a majority of the people, it was not office-holders nor business men who put through the American Revolution and achieved the independence of this nation. **IT WAS RATHER AN ENERGETIC AND DETERMINED MINORITY OF MEN WHO HAD VISION AND FAITH AND NERVE AND ENERGY AND COURAGE AND AUDACITY.** More than that, if Professor Gettell in his lectures in this same Summer Session at Berkeley was right in his interpretation of the facts of the revolutionary period, it was the man Mr. Roosevelt slandered as "that dirty little atheist"—Thomas Paine, who by his vigorous convincing pamphlets turned the tide of sentiment in the American colonies and **CREATED THE WILL FOR INDEPENDENCE.**

The story of the anti-slavery movement has a similar lesson. And the story of the overthrow of our war-breeding capitalism from its usurpation of political and social power will be a similar story. But fidelity to the principles of sociology and the repeated lessons of history requires that it be said that the chances that any such vitality or vision or determination will ever show itself in our present educators and take the school from the tail of the procession and make it the virile leader of a march toward a higher civilization are so slim as to be negligible. As Nora in Ibsen's great drama says: "I no longer believe in miracles." So long has the

(Concluded on Page 48)



The Romance Of Their Lives Awaits The Genius Of the Story Teller In Order To Be Properly Told.

MANY reams of paper have been used in the telling of sea stories; Mother Ocean, from time immemorial, has been the favorite theme of writers of all countries. Much has been written of the lives of deep-sea sailors, of the golden treasure-troves in Davy Jones' locker, of wild storms, wild lands, wild men and wilder women which have been seen by those who "go down to the sea in ships." The lamp of romance has shed its most colorful rays over the vasty deep.

Salt water has proven an irresistible lure for the ink-slingers and typewriter-pounders; the fact that there are bodies of fresh water here on the American continent which have as many stories on their broad bosoms as Mother Ocean ever had seems to have escaped their notice. Or perhaps it is because most of these stories would have to be written around the subject of Labor—a subject with which the majority of the pot-boilers are hopelessly out of touch—that the Great Lakes have never had much space allotted to them—fortunately—for much of the sea-stuff would give an honest-to-goodness son of the sea the heebie-jeebies, and no doubt, lake stories turned out by the same imaginative individuals would be as far from a portrayal of actual conditions.

Lakes Full Of Life

Nevertheless, the lakes should be able to break into print once in a while. Enough happens every year between Ogdensburg and Duluth to fill several large sized volumes even after being rigidly censored by an editor with an aversion to windy tales. The lakes are full of life and much can be written around the men who "push the big wagons along with number four shovels," who stand the long watches at the wheels, who balance themselves precariously on the slippery gratings of the engine-rooms, who scrub and paint, make fast and let go the vast fleets of cargo-carriers which plow the waters of the inland seas every summer.

And these stories need not be fiction either. Facts are fully as entrancing as fiction ever was. Romance is ever present in the lives of the men

aboard the boats and it only needs some one with the kindred feeling which makes mankind a great brotherhood, some one who has actually soiled his dungarees and bruised his hands along with them to tell the story of the men of the lakes, and to make everyone realize that, here, right at home, one of the greatest chapters of modern history is being unfolded.

The Romance Of Work

Romance, aye, the romance of the working-class; stories with depths and breadths as great as life itself flicker across the screen, hold the attention for a moment and are forgotten in the intensity of succeeding ones. Stories of strikes and lockouts, stories of hardship and misery, stories of unflinching heroism and stories of senseless sacrifice of precious lives for profit-mad masters, each have to be allotted a brief moment by those who would know the lakes and the men who have made them GREAT.

If you are a sceptic, one who must see to believe, the solution is an easy one. In six or eight weeks every port from Buffalo to Fort William will be awakening from the winter's sleep, men for the boats will be in demand and the beneficent Lake Carrier's Association will only be too glad to give you plenty of opportunities to find out for yourself whether there really is anything worth seeing or experiencing—particularly if you tell the shipping master that you are inexperienced.

If, on the other hand, you do not crave actual experience and are willing to take your excitement second-hand, if life in the raw appals you and you feel safer in a ten-story building securely anchored to the ground, or in a spacious bungalow in the suburbs, and are fortunate enough to be able to finance such a mode of existence, you can find plenty of men who will tell you endless tales of life on the lakes.

Strolling Along The Lake Front

A stroll down lower Main St. in Buffalo, a few hours spent along Harbor Avenue in South Chicago, a pleasant word to some lad sitting on the dock at

the foot of Fifth Avenue in Duluth or a day spent along Bridge Street in Ashtabula Harbor or along Reed Street in Milwaukee will convince you that events of great importance **have happened and are still happening** every day on the lakes.

Perhaps you might be lucky enough to meet "Castalia Dutch" in some of these places; perhaps "Scrap-iron Pete" might be passing along, perhaps "South Chicago Johnny" or "Socialist Sam" might add to your store of knowledge. And, if none of these better-known characters were to be found you could still meet hosts of others who have tales to tell of hard-boiled mates, rotten chuck, lousy fo'cs'les and hard-steaming "workhouses." The tales you would hear would make you stop and wonder—some of them might strain your credulity—but if all of them could be put together they would make a magnificent whole—an epic of life and labor.

The Story of Exploitation

Running through all of them you would find a general pattern with all the threads centering in one design—and when you looked closely enough—this pattern would become clear and plain and you would see that **the real story, the story around which all the rest revolve, is the story of the exploitation of Labor and that the one outstanding feature in all the narratives is the never-ending struggle between those who have and those from whom it has been taken away "even that which they hath not."** In the story of the lakes, as in all other stories, the dominant feature is the **CLASS STRUGGLE**.

And, the saddest part of the story is, that until now, these men who have lived the story of the lakes, who have been part and parcel of its tragedy, did not understand why they were unable to delete the misery and the degradation from the tale and put happiness and joy, equality and freedom in their places. The story of the lakes, so far, has been one of sorrow and defeat for Labor—endless toil and scanty reward.

David and Goliath All Over Again

The story of the lakes has not been molded along such somber lines because the men have not tried; they have, in all sincerity. Many bitter battles have been staged, but the problem has just been too big for them to solve. It has been the story of David and Goliath over again, only this time David was out of luck and the Biblical ending has been supplanted by one nearer what might be expected when an unarmed stripling attacks—or tries to defend himself from—one who has practically unlimited strength.

The Goliath of the lakes is the Steel Trust; its name, of course, has been changed to one more suitable to the element it uses; afloat, the trust has become the Pittsburgh Steamship Company—but its tactics are as brutal as those in force in the mills ashore. Against this monster and the weapon it has created—the Lake Carriers' Association—the men of the lakes have battled in vain. Their struggles have been a succession of tragic failures. Union after union has been utterly smashed, strike after

strike has been lost, thousands of the best fighters have been driven from the lakes by the use of the blacklist and today the men of the lakes are drinking the bitter cup of sorrow and defeat—not of their own volition—but because they are the threads in the great pattern and because the weaving of that pattern must include sorrow and travail and be colored by the blood and tears and sweat of Labor.

Breaking the Melancholy

And is the story of the lakes to continue along such melancholy lines? Is there no hope for these men who have been fighting against degradation so long? Is their lifeblood to continue to color the great pattern of the class struggle without ever seeing that pattern finally ended and the story of the lakes started again with a new design—with freedom as the motif? Can the men who have made the lakes **GREAT** achieve **GREATNESS** themselves? The entrance of a new factor into the struggle—a union—one entirely different from those found wanting in the past—gives us courage and assurance to answer: **YES**.

The Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union of the IWW has appeared on the scene and the coming chapters bid fair to change the trend of the story. A new dawn is breaking over the inland seas and the morrow holds promise of better things. The men of the lakes, can, if they will, use this new union to end their misery and hardship. The story of the sea has had many happier lines written into it since the advent of this new force for Labor's aid. Since its inception it has wrought many changes in the lives of the men who are engaged in heart-rending toil aboard ships the world over. Fresh water will not dim its efficiency, the pattern of the story whose mission it is to change is the same everywhere and its entry into the life of the men of the lakes marks the turning-point from which the story of the lakes will become better and brighter as time goes by.

Always fighters, the men of the lakes are now ready to try again, and **this time through this union**, they have the first **real opportunity** of accomplishing anything they ever had. This new weapon will be the long-looked-for influence which will brighten and sweeten the story of the lakes even as it is brightening the story of the sea. And when this union has assumed the directing of the story and recast it along happier lines, the story of the lakes will be one which will task the abilities of real writers, not pot-boilers, but writers who have lived the story they are writing. And the heroes will be those men who have suffered and sacrificed, toiled and died, roasted in midsummer on Lake Erie and frozen on Lake Superior when the howling snowstorms sweep out of the north to take their toll of life. Whose bones lie bleaching on the bottom of "sailors' graveyard"—the men of the Kirby and Merida, the men of the Price and the Cyprus—all those working class heroes who have been sacrificed for the unholy profits of the masters—**SONS OF LABOR**—who have made the **GREAT** Lakes truly **GREAT**.



Now That the Storm is Subsiding....

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR



San Quentin Where 85 IWWs Are Unjustly Imprisoned

THE long, hard fight against the criminal syndicalism law in California is nearing an end.

The forces of Black Reaction have been compelled to moderate their insane persecution. For five years they have striven to outdo the Spanish Inquisition in their treatment of the Industrial Heretics who refused to acquiesce in their exploitation of wage slaves. If a worker dared to question their divine right he was tried, condemned and punished with a prison sentence of from one to fourteen years. Where it was not convenient to hail him into a court controlled by the plunderbund he was subjected to other forms of punishment. Mob law often times took the place of the more refined but none the less drastic method of punishment. The war hysteria was in the blood, and brutality and cruelty were the order of the day.

The nightmare of persecution and terrorism is passing. The people are returning to "normalcy." The masters are finding it harder to agitate mobs to violence against the person of a labor "agitator." The criminal syndicalism law is a dead issue. It is almost safe now to talk of profiteers, to advocate government ownership, votes for women, and to say that the income tax should be enforced against the very rich.

The criminal syndicalism law is not finding such favor in the eyes of the common people as it did some months ago. We even read in the papers articles condemning this piece of boss-inspired legislation. It is safe now to come out of the woods and to speak your real sentiments regarding this slave law that the predatory rulers, through their vassals have foisted on the people of California.

Now that the days of terror are over, now that the witch hunting and heresy seeking has subsided, we can look for many champions of the cause of Justice. Many are the ones who will blossom forth and shout their protests against the high-handed methods of special privilege. Politicians seeking a new platform will take up the cause of the down-trodden masses whom they forgot for so many years when the workers really needed friends. Timid liberals who took to cover in the days of the modern inquisition will be seen on the public platform

telling of the terrible injustice done to the workers at the behest of the financial and industrial kings. This gentry will, now that all danger is past, try to tell the people that they are the ones who have broken the criminal syndicalism law. They will try to arrogate unto themselves the glory. When the criminal syndicalism law was a real menace, when there was danger in aligning themselves on the side of the persecuted men, they were silent; but they will be silent no longer. Justice (?) compels them to take up the gauge of battle.

Yet even in their championing of the IWW and their condemnation of the criminal syndicalism law, these people will be very careful to tell their auditors that they are in nowise connected with this organization. On the platform they will explain for an hour that they are not "reds" or radicals or members of the IWW, and then for ten minutes they will tell their hearers that they believe in "Justice," "free speech" and all the other shibboleths of the milk and water reformers, and for which they have never been known to fight, except as paid orators on a safe platform.

The same holds true of their press propaganda. While condemning the IWW as strife begetters and radicals they at the same time humbly beseech the oligarchy to cease persecution in the name of Humanity. Liberty and Justice are to them but catch phrases. They know less than nothing of the dominant Master class and the militant portion of the Working class. In the maelstrom of the class



war they stand helpless and bewildered, and utter their feeble, empty phrases, which they, themselves, do not understand.

Victory over the criminal syndicalism law is in sight. The master class, forced to check their mad onslaught against the industrial rebels, will retreat as gracefully as possible. The liberals will be used to save the retreat from a complete rout. They will not be averse to taking the glory that the masters will try to thrust upon them. They will strive to rob the IWW of the fruits of victory. Through the press and on the public platform the workers will be told that the liberals broke the criminal syndicalism law and saved the IWW.

Those of us who have followed the fight here in California know who won the victory. Ask the men in San Quentin and Folsom who carried the fight to the enemy and forced him to retreat. If you want to know who broke the criminal syndicalism law in California, go to San Quentin and visit the men who have numbers instead of names. Go into the abode of despair at Represa, called Folsom prison, and talk to the men behind those grim walls about the question. Discuss the criminal syndicalism law with the members of the IWW in the industries throughout the state, the men with job credentials in their pockets and literature to give away to the workers along side of them. Talk to the men who filled the stockade at San Pedro last spring, to the men who spent long, weary months in filthy county jails. Ask the men who have been beaten, mobbed and deported out of the state who broke the criminal syndicalism law. Ask all these men and read your answer in their faces and in their zeal for the cause they love. The men whose "heads are bloody, but still unbowed" are the ones who have made California safe for the IWW; who have made the criminal syndicalism law a useless encumbrance on the statute books.

Climb onto the band wagon, Oh! Gentle Reformers; pour forth your platitudes and fine phrases to the people of the state, but when danger arises again take to the woods and let the "wobblies" battle it out with the boss until the storm subsides.

The same fearless rebels against social and economic injustice who have taken the teeth out of the criminal syndicalism law will release their fellow workers who fell in the battle and were captured by the enemy. **The fight is in industry, and only those directly concerned can understand how to cope with the situation. Our men in honorable captivity will be released, and the IWW will be the ones who will unlock the doors.**

The fight does not concern the workers in California alone. It is the concern of all the workers from Vancouver to Key West and from San Diego to Montreal. The splendid co-operation and solidarity shown thus far in the war against the forces of reaction must be continued, until the men in San Quentin and Folsom are released and return to take their places in industry.

Lovely California

Apologies to Keats. Written by MACBETH

MUCH have I travelled in the realms of hate,
And many jails and city marshals seen;
In many western bull pens have I been,
Where slaves are kept by greed insatiate,
Or left to die or suffer uglier fate,
By those who see the mote and leave the beam.
But never did I know how vampires prey on men
Until I saw how men are hounded in a western state.
There the bloated god of riches reigns supreme
Oppressing those who will not be afraid
To try to help the world—who dare to dream
Of happier days. Strange nature's beauty does not
fade
When dismal walls and dungeons deep blaspheme,
Where gray-haired Saturn casts his melancholy
shade.

IWW Announcement

The IWW announces that it has opened a new hall at 310 Eye Street, where useful members of society (The Working Class) can secure illuminating literature on their problems.

The IWW is deeply concerned over the expense to which the County of Sacramento has been put because your District Attorney has thought it necessary to buy uniforms of open shop pants, twelve-hour leggings and sheepskin coats to disguise his stoolpigeons and detectives as honest workingmen. He can save the county this expense in the future by merely calling up the IWW office and stating his desire to persecute under criminal syndicalism. The secretary will immediately pass the word around to the workers in the various industries in the city. In a few hours the secretary and a couple of dozen members and delegates will appear at the courthouse where the District Attorney may pick and choose,—any or all. This procedure can be repeated an indefinite number of times.

If you must have a criminal syndicalism law to prevent working people from organizing into the One Big Union of their class, please be consistent, good people of Sacramento, and enforce that law. Meantime, of course, the IWW will continue to press upon the consciousness of your employing class the absolute necessity of more and better food, clothing and shelter for all workers.

Yours for a Better World,

THE IWW.

THANKS FOR ADV.

The Humboldt Times (Humboldt, Calif.) quotes The Industrial Pioneer for January editorially in order to prove that the IWW is convicted out of its own mouth. Of course, the quotation was a distorted one. That is, the language was changed to suit the Times' purpose.

Nevertheless, Industrial Pioneer thanks it for the advertising which it (The Pioneer) received.



The White Goods Girls' Strike

By JENNIE D. CARLIPH

WELL, I don't know if I can tell it. There is much connected with this little tale that must be felt and experienced in order that it be appreciated. However, in the year 1913, February 21st, a call to strike was issued by the White Goods Workers' union in New York City.

There had been talk of a strike for some time, and mass meetings had been held for that purpose, and the day was set and strike called. The New York Call, socialist daily at the time, assured all who wanted to believe that there would be pickets lined up on the streets leading to the dry goods centers, intercepting workers who attempted to go to work in the white goods factories.

The factory I worked in was located in the Masonic Temple building on West 23d street, one of the busiest streets and thoroughfares of the city of New York. On the morning of the strike, I walked leisurely from the subway to the factory, a willing subject, ready to be caught and held.

But, to my chagrin, nobody apprehended me, and so I reached "my" factory without halt or hindrance in the anticipation that a committee would call during the morning and "take us down." My hopes later proved in vain. No committee came that day.

A Mean Winter's Day

The next day was a mean winter's day, and feeling too sick both physically and at heart, I did not go to work that morning. Being too impatient to stay at home, I went to work that afternoon again, and on arriving was told by the girls that the boss said that a committee of strikers was there, waving a red cloth; that a few of the girls fainted, and that the committee was put out by the boss. The girls did not see that committee themselves, but the boss had told them so. With all that, this was an excuse for the boss to place plug uglies at the door and to take "his" girls home under guard. Well, that was the limit. I could work in that place no longer; so I went on strike with one other girl, whose father was a union man all his life long, and would not let her scab. It was now impossible to take any of the other girls along as the boss, foreman and family, kept the closest watch and sent the girls home in small batches earlier to avoid any possible chance of contact with any inflammatory strike material that might be smouldering in that factory.

As for me, I had been watching the preparations for the strike and even attended some of the meetings, but, having some knowledge of the "labor leading" gentry in charge of the arrangements, I had no desire to take part in their activities but expected that when the strike was called the union would "pull" our shop too and so I would go along with them. In the meantime, I talked to some of the girls and prepared them as much as possible for the event. The few that I could speak to promised to join the strike. Some of them said they would come out, "if the rest of the girls came out."

A Lone Striker

But the alleged call of the strike committee killed all prospects of the girls going out on strike and the one girl who came out with me left for Philadelphia on a visit to her well-to-do relatives. And so **I was alone on strike in a factory of 150 girls.** The situation was getting grave, and I decided to go up to the union and see the leaders. Mr. Shorr, the strike leader, was a very busy person. First of all his newly-apportioned office had to be set in order. Desks were being put in and doors and gates made. However, I finally succeeded in explaining the situation. Here was a factory centrally located, doing a fine line of work and employing 150 girls at that time. What would the union do about it? Why had it not been pulled out before this? Mr. Shorr promised to send up a committee and "pull the shop." There were other white goods shops in that building and none of them were on strike.

Well, to make it brief, nothing was done by the union. They had a few shops tied up and that was all they seemed to care about. However, they advised me to go up to the Woman's Trade Union League. I knew what I could expect from the dear ladies, but went and spoke to Miss Rose Schneiderman. She, too, was very busy, and after pestering her for some time she finally told me she could do nothing, as the place was policed and they could not get in.

Fortunately, my boss had joined the boss' association and I knew then, that if the strike should be won our shop would be included. So I abandoned my own shop and went on the picket line with some of the girls I knew in other struck factories. My boss, frightened at the two girls going

out on strike, and, perhaps, expecting that many more would join us, became a member of the boss' association.

The Picket Line

The picket line was a study in itself. Workers who are accustomed to strikes by men perhaps know little about heroic deeds by mere girls. Arrests and jails in freezing weather, on the picket line, with bare heads and no gloves on their hands, is only part of the picture.

Such was the condition of affairs as I found them on the picket line. I was well or warmly clad myself; but most of the rest of them were scantily clad and frozen numb. Police were lined up on the sidewalks and the girls were only permitted to walk up and down, and any slip on their part meant certain arrest. Some of them had already pelted the police and the scabs with some unpleasant objects and had been imprisoned and fined for it. And a close watch by the police was now kept.

I left the picket line and went home to get some warm coverings for the most needy girls. Brought them some gloves, shawls and caps, anything I could lay hands on that might help to keep the cold out. I went on the picket line day after day at the various factories. The strike lasted about five weeks and was finally settled.

Terms of Settlement

The girls were to receive a dollar a week increase in pay and they were to have a 54-hour week. The gains were trivial, and what is more the conditions agreed upon were not strictly and fully observed. Repeatedly did I go to the union, telling them that the dollar promised was not given to all the girls, and that some of the girls were obliged to work later than the union hours on Saturday afternoon, but to no avail. The "leader" was seen in the office of the boss, and whether it was true or not that he "carried packages out from the office," I don't know, but nothing was done for the workers. Finally, the two girls who struck were found fault with and fired, and our protests to the union and a mock trial of the boss, because of his violation of the agreement, resulted in only the re-instating one of us and that without pay, for time lost; which the girl thus favored, refused to accept and left the shop for good and aye.

In order to understand conditions in a large city and a modern factory, one must take into consideration the peculiar arrangements of a large city that confront one, its peculiar topography as well. We girls who worked in that factory on the ninth floor on the corner of 23d street and 6th avenue, lived miles out of town. So far as I was concerned, I knew but one address of the girls in the entire factory, and that girls I visited many times in my efforts to induce her to join the strike, but to no avail. All she would tell me was, "What's the use of my coming out, when the rest of the girls will remain working?" and that was true. There was no use expecting that she would be out of wages for

as long as the strike would last the same as I was. There was no help from the union. The officials were busy lining up members, collecting dues and sending out appeals for funds. But, contrary to all A. F. of L. statements, they paid no strike benefits.

The union office on the corner of Second avenue and First street grew and prospered. It became a regular office, with rooms and doors and gates, and to approach the officials was no more an easy matter. Well, the strike was at an end, and the agreement signed between the union and the boss' association, and we were to go back to work.

I went to see the girl who had left for Philadelphia, and found that she had come back that Sunday and was ready to go to work. Monday, the last of the strikers were to return to the factories. And we, too, returned.

A Triumphant Return

For all the anguish and suffering and disappointment we passed through during the long and tortuous weeks of the strike, there was one compensation in store for us, and **that was the return to work as winners.** Little as that winning was worth, **it was a victory just the same.** It was a gain; something wrenched from the bosses; something they hated to give us. Not the one dollar increase, not the shorter day; each of us individually might have gained that much. But it was the **power to force them to do something, that galled them.** It's that puny little victory, to come back as winners, that they begrudged us. **And that was the only hour of my life. It was glory to me.**

Can you picture my little, undersized foreman Jesse, to himself the greatest person in creation, and the brother of a member of one of the finest ladies' lingerie and silk underwear houses in the country and the bully of the shop, standing in a side room and calling me in, to ask me if I spoke to Mr. H., of B. & H., if I can come back to work. He was shaking from head to foot when I told him that I did not ask anybody to come back, that Lina and I have come back because Mr. H. had signed the agreement as a member of the boss' association. I said: "Did he not?" and he said "I did." I told him that if that is the case, it was all the better, so he knew that the strike was settled and that the girls had won. And in the factory, the little painted blond who scabbed in my place, on seeing me, slunk back to her own corner at the next table and my place as head worker of my department and my table, were again in my domain as before the strike.

A Victim of Class War

As stated above, they got the best of me in the end. My summer's vacation with pay was cut off. My former hours were actually increased, as now I made it my business to live up to union conditions and come to work in the morning on time and not an hour later as I used to come to work before the strike; and get paid for it, too. And before I knew it, the bosses discovered that they

(Continued on page 24.)

General Construction Workers' Campaign Begins

GENERAL Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Industrial Workers of the World, is preparing to take advantage of the usual spring resumption of work. No less than four conferences have been called in as many districts with that object in view. February 20th a district conference was held at Portland, Oregon. March 15th is the date set for one at Omaha, Neb., and April 2d will have two, one each at Chicago, Ill., and Stockton, California, respectively.

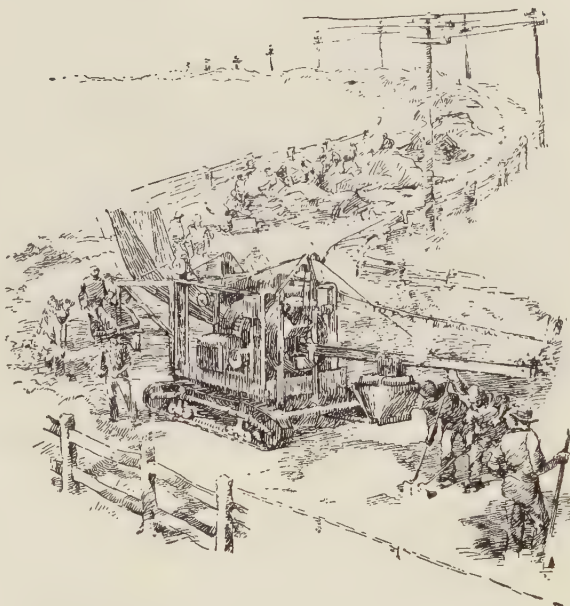
The general construction workers are employed in the paving of streets, building of highways, power dams and tunnels, constructing industrial railroads, as for lumber companies, and the like. Their employers are general contractors, electric, railroad and other corporations. The employees are boarded and lodged in camps, where the food is most often bad, the conditions insanitary and the pay low.

These conferences will outline a program where-with to secure more wages and better working conditions such as hours, housing and food. Also consider ways and means to carry on extensive organization plans this year.

It is recognized among the general construction workers that only extensive organization will get them anywhere, and that this can only be secured through well-planned campaigns. They recognize that the day of beneficial individual or group action has long gone by; and that this is the day of big contractors' associations, from whom the workers can afford to take a few lessons.

Big contracts have been awarded in California; and 310 is, accordingly, much interested in pushing organization plans and combatting the so-called criminal syndicalism laws, which are applied and interpreted just for the purpose of preventing labor organization there. Three Ten is pushing organization elsewhere as well.

As the Chicago and Omaha conferences show it is as concerned with organization in the Mid-West as on the Pacific Coast and in the Northwest.



Lumber Workers' Growth

LUMBER Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, reports the recent enrollment of 2,000 members in the forests of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. This is the first real stride that the IWW has made in the lumber industry of the east. It shows the eastern trend of the entire organization, too.

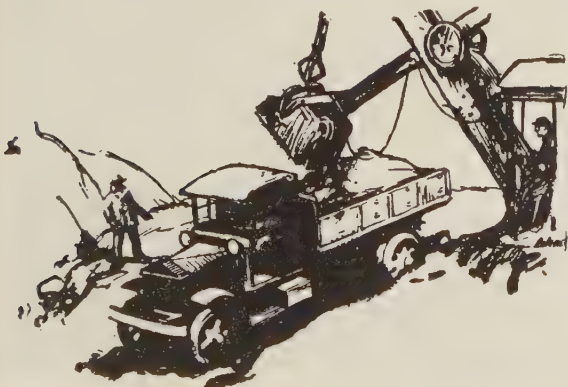
Number One Twenty is also actively at work organizing the lumber workers in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. The conditions in the Mid-West are worse than in any woods in the north-western section. Organization is the cure.

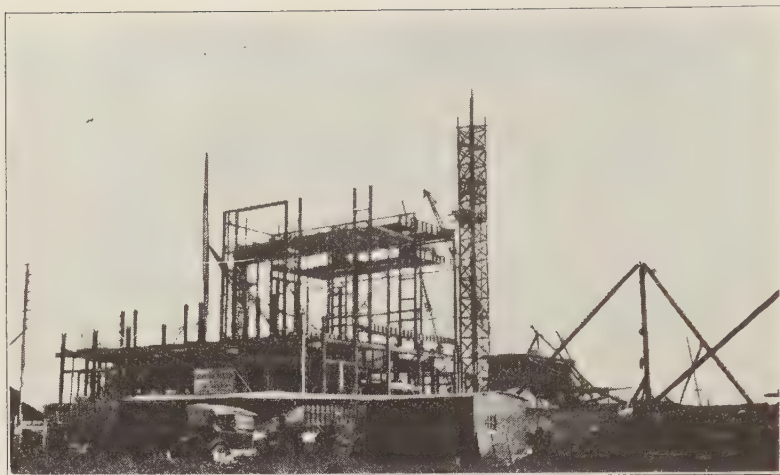
Another victory for Number One Twenty is the vote of the annual convention of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Ontario OBU in favor of joining the IWW. This convention was attended by No. 120 traveling organizers.

The Northwest Lumber Operators' Association has inaugurated a blacklist against radicals and IWWs. Some idea of its task may be judged from the fact that it believes four years at least will be required to weed them out.

In the meanwhile, No. 120 is building up organization. Not only is it expanding territorially, but it is also making efforts to interest saw-mill workers, as well. Industrial expansion is also the 120 aim and object. This is in line with its continuous growth.

No. 120 is backing the strike of the 15,000 lumberjacks at Cranbrook, B. C., Canada. All its branches and delegates are actively at work raising finances and otherwise endeavoring to make this strike a success.





A 10-Million-Dollar Project



Building Superpower Plant,
Grand Tower, Ill.

Electricity, generated from "white"—or water—power is the superpower that is silently, without drums and trumpets, forming the basis of the new capitalism.

All over the world, railroads and industries are undergoing electrification. This country especially is literally dotted with great electric power plants. They are built on waterfalls and along waterways.

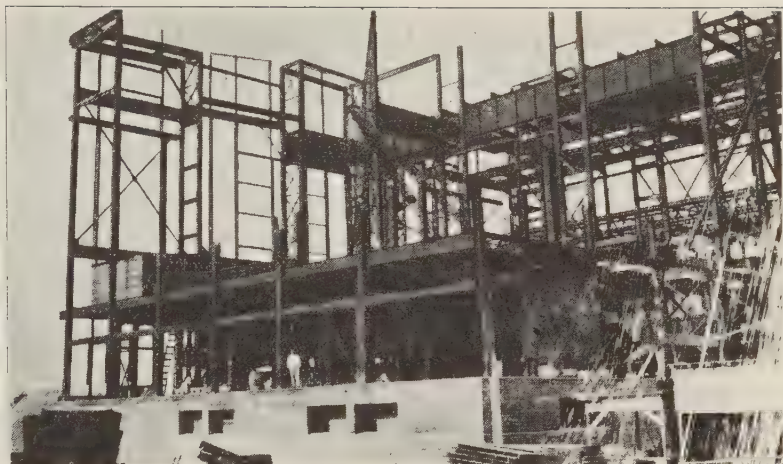
Apparently, many corporations own these different plants. But really a few big trusts control them all. They are known as the public utilities and hydro-electric trusts.



General Construction Foreman



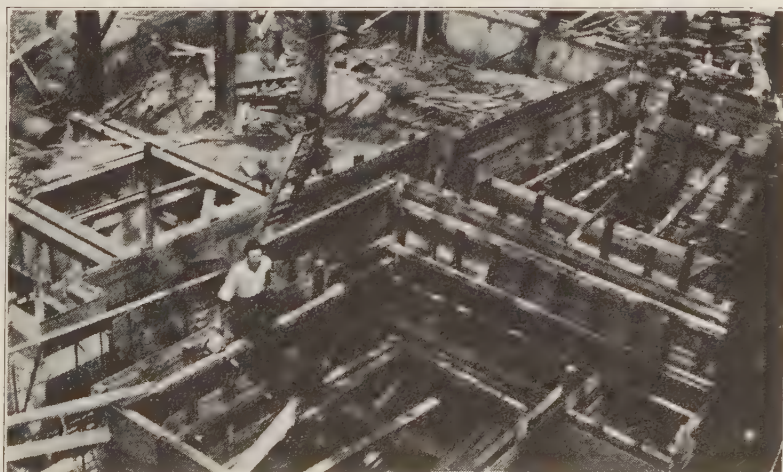
And Assistant Are Two Well-
Known Wobblies



Enormous capital is invested in steam machinery. The capitalist groups owning it are retarding its displacement by opposing electrically-driven machinery. But steam-power is doomed. Superpower is its executioner.



The accompanying pictures were taken at Grand Tower, Ill., about 100 miles south of St. Louis, on the Mississippi River. The general foreman of construction and his assistant are two well-known wobblies. Cost, about \$10,000,000.



New Orleans' Costly Scabs

THE strike of the electrical workers in New Orleans still continues with prospects of victory in the near future for the strikers, and if the scabs don't get more efficient in the work they are performing at present, we can see that the gas company, or the hardware stores will have difficulty in supplying the demand of the residences here for gaslight or oil lamps as a substitute for electricity.

For instance we have a plant of the Henry Ford Motor Co. here, noted for efficiency in turning out products of labor. Now through a contract that the Ford company has with the Public Service, the latter has to pay them at the rate of \$500 per hour anytime they cut off the juice; and through the blunders of the scab electricians this plant was shut down for four working hours recently, for the want of power.

As yet we have had no definite figures as to what amount of profits the bosses are out through this strike, but it must be enormous with paying for police protection, housing and employing from six to eight strike-breakers where two union men can do the same job more efficiently and in less time. —Note picture No. 1.

Picture No. 2 goes to prove the type of animals the bosses are co-operating with to beat the rooming-house, where the scabs are herded.

The business men in the vicinity are protesting



PICTURE No. 1



PICTURE No. 2

about the low character of the beings in this hang-out, with the result that to safeguard the property on either side of this menagerie, they were forced to build fences out in front of both buildings adjoining same, to prevent these low down scabs from looting their property.

We have already published some pictures of these scabs in our recent publications, with the result that they are sneaking around under police protection, which caused the arrest of our official photographer.

Propaganda Committee, New Orleans Br. MTW.

DISARMING

The Tramp (who has entered a country grocery, but notices a policeman)—“And so I humbly ask if you would kindly—give a fellow—your daughter’s hand.”—Kasper (Stockholm).

AN ARGUMENT

They were arguing. She insisted that revolution was dependent on the lowest strata of workers. It was a thing that issues from the bottom up. He contended that revolution was the result of forces outside of all classes—of social factors, like invention and war. Who is right, he or she?

**GOOD THINGS COMING! SUBSCRIBE
FOR INDUSTRIAL PIONEER!**

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

On to the Workers' Administration

To organize and administer industry will be the function that industrial evolution will impose on wage earners in the industrial democracy that appears to be coming over the horizon of civilized development.

To the proper performance of this function, a knowledge and understanding of present day industrial organization and administration are absolutely necessary. Without them evolution will be impossible and chaos alone will ensue.

The three articles that follow will contribute to these desirable ends. The first is an ideal description of the General Electric Co. This corporation is representative of big corporations in general. The author of this article is an electrical engineer, thoroughly competent to describe the organization of this great body.

The second article analyzes the distribution of a dollar of gross income of the General Electric Co., taking as a basis the company's own tabulation. It is compiled especially for Industrial Pioneer by a well-known economist.

The third article treats of the latest phases of development in the Ford Co., and is by a Pioneer staff writer.

Read and ponder!

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Setting Up an Industrial Corporation

BY C. M. RIPLEY

Electrical Engineer, Schenectady, N. Y.

A corporation is an organization. Many years ago, Herbert Spencer defined organization as:

"The means for bringing all available energy and all available knowledge to bear upon the particular problem in hand at the precise time when needed."

The chart accompanying this article shows how the General Electric Company is organized. It does not show the organization of the Manufacturing Department, or the Sales Department, or any of the Engineering Departments but it shows the "Corporate" organization beginning with the 34,000 stockholders who live all over the United States, and includes all of the "general officers" of the Corporation.

The common stock of the company is owned by 34,000 people and 33,000 or 99 percent of them live in the United States.

Every year a flood of ballots pours into Schenectady in the Annual Election of the Board of Directors. Each common stockholder is entitled to one vote for each share of stock he owns.

The directors in turn elect an executive committee which tends to business between meetings of the board.

The directors also elect the general officers as shown on the chart. These general officers meet in an advisory committee for the purpose of exchanging information and co-ordinating their efforts, and the efforts of the departments under them.

These general officers are as follows:

Chairman of the Board of Directors, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Honorary Chairman of the Board of Directors, President of the Company, nine vice-presidents, a Comptroller, a secretary and a treasurer.

Looking at the company as a ship, the president of the company is the captain of the ship, while the chairman of the board is the pilot. The president has full charge of the operation of the ship, while the chairman maps out the course of his ship with respect to other ships in the ocean—other companies in the business world.

The Vice Chairman acts in the absence of the

chairman and the honorary chairman is in general charge of technical development in this country and abroad.

Referring to the chart, let us take up the duties of the different General officers shown in the bottom row.

The Vice President in charge of Engineering directs laboratories and engineering departments which convert discoveries of research experts into new designs of apparatus and supplies which people will buy; which constantly improves the company's many products and helps to "make G.E. goods the best."

The Vice President in charge of Patents is head

of a Patent Department which works with inventors and secures patents which protect G. E. inventions in all parts of the world. They arrange for royalties and licenses.

The two Vice Presidents in charge of sales are the leading officials of the selling force in all parts of the country; they are responsible for getting orders, studying market conditions and advising the manufacturing departments accordingly.

The Vice President in charge of manufacturing heads the Manufacturing Committee which directs the building, equipping, operation of factories, the supply of materials, the production of apparatus necessary to fill orders from customers. He directs the organization which "delivers the goods."

The Vice President in charge of accounts and the Comptroller head the department with branches in 100 cities; are responsible for the correct keeping of accounts by which are determined the amounts due from 35,000 customers, the cost of the product, and the amount to be paid for materials and labor, totalling millions of dollars per month.

The two Vice Presidents who direct the Lamp

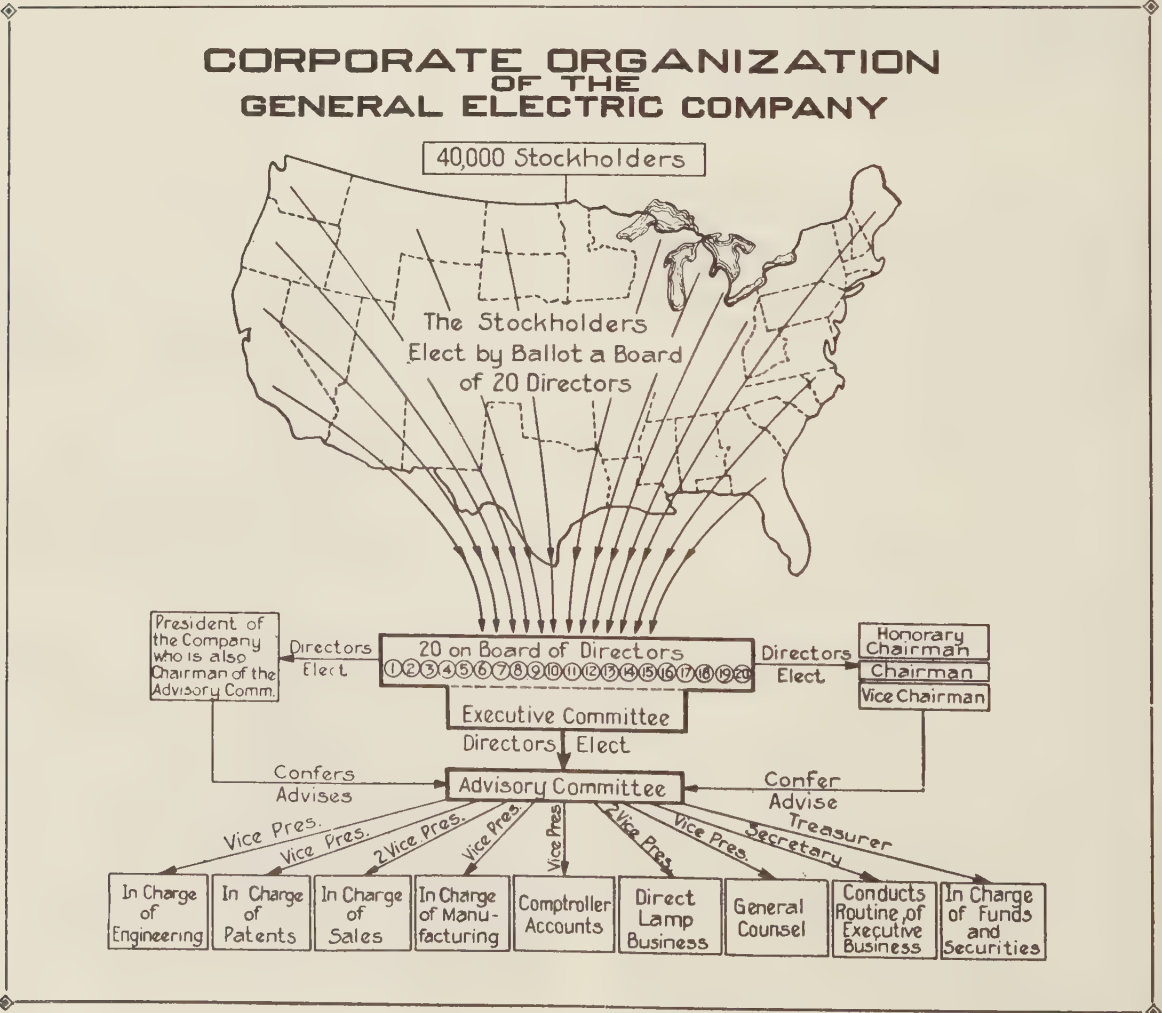
business are in charge of the development, production and sale of the incandescent lamps in numerous factories and sales offices.

The Vice President who is general counsel directs the Law Department and advises the directors and officers on questions of policy and general business relations.

The secretary conducts the routine of executive business, keeps records of meetings of stockholders, directors and officers and informs all departments as to decisions which affect them. Also has charge of all insurance, including employers' Group Life Insurance, and manages the company's pension system.

The Treasurer is in charge of funds and securities, is responsible for the custody and safekeeping of all money, stocks and bonds owned by the company, and for all payments.

The chart is a brief outline of the business side of the organization which Dr. C. P. Steinmetz chose to work in. He used it as an instrument or tool to make his ideas and inventions useful to the human race.



Lo, the Poor G. E. C. Stockholder

He Not Only Eats His Cake But Has It $1\frac{1}{2}$ Times Over

[Compiled for Industrial Pioneer By A Well-Known Economist.]

THE General Electric Company publishes a chart showing the distribution of a dollar gross income received for the years 1918 to 1922 inclusive. This shows that for each dollar received for goods sold the company paid out 42-1/5 cents for materials, supplies, depreciation and losses, 40-9/10 cents for salaries and wages, 3-3/5 cents for taxes, and 2-7/10 cents for transportation, leaving 9-3/5 cents as the share of property or capital. Of this, 1-1/10 cents was paid as interest on borrowed money, 4-4/5 cents as cash dividends, and 4-7/10 cents was left in the business as surplus—being, of course, the property of the stockholders. Thus, owners of property received slightly less than 10 cents of each dollar taken in.

This may be intended to show that the owners of the company are not receiving an exorbitant return. If their property were all turned over to the public or the workers, there would be only 10 cents more out of each dollar of sales to apply to reduced prices or increased wages. On the basis of the \$200,194,294 worth of sales in 1922, this would mean about \$20,000,000. If all of it were used to raise wages, we can figure that the employees, approximately 85,000 in number, would receive an average of \$235 more apiece per year. It is probable, however, that even under public or co-operative ownership the whole amount would not be used for increased wages. Some would have to be left in the business for expansion, and some might still be paid as interest to bondholders. A conservative estimate of the extra amount which might go to the workers through increased wages or reduced prices of the product is \$115 apiece per year.

The percentage of profit to sales, however, by no means tells the whole story of the reward of ownership in the General Electric Company.

The company was formed in 1892 by the merger of the Thomson-Houston Electric Co., Thomson-Houston International Electric Co. and Edison General Electric Co. Subsequently it has absorbed many other companies and plants. For many of these properties it has either paid directly in stock, or in cash received from sales of stock to the public. The total outstanding stock which had been issued either for cash or its equivalent, was in the spring of 1923, \$120,853,248. If we wish to calculate the total investment of actual cash or real property made by the public in the concern, we must add to this the outstanding bond issues, on which money was borrowed, amounting to \$22,677,440. The total of the stock sold and money borrowed on bonds is thus \$153,530,688.

Conservative Argument Overthrown

Conservative economists argue that a return on money thus invested is necessary, because if a man saves up money and invests it he endures a sacrifice of the enjoyment which he might have had by spending the money, and thus is entitled to a reward, as a stimulus to saving. If capital were not accumulated in some way, society would not enjoy the benefits of large-scale production.

The people who invested this money have received a considerable reward for doing so. In some of the early years dividends were not paid, but for the greater part of the period the stockholders have received 8 per cent annually. Thus a man who invested \$100 in 1892 for a share of stock has now received back, in cash dividends on that stock alone, \$260, or the entire original sacrifice plus 160 per cent more.

This is by no means all, however. In addition to getting capital from investors, the company has

made such large profits that after paying cash dividends out of them, it has put aside \$143,530,688 of capital from its own income. Obviously no individual investor endured any particular sacrifice to save that capital. The sacrifice was rather on the part of the consumers who paid the prices and the wage-earner who accepted wages at such rates that the extra profit could be made. This extra capital is almost as large as that secured from investors, amounting to 48.6 per cent of the total capital of the company. (See Table I).

Nevertheless, the stockholders of the company have received a reward for the accumulation of this surplus capital also, just as if they had individually saved it up and invested it. This has occurred through the gift by the company to its shareholders of extra stock. Such gifts are known as "stock dividends." After stock has been distributed in this way, it receives cash dividends at the same rate as stock which has been bought. In July, 1902, the company issued a stock dividend of 66-2/3%—in other words it gave to each shareholder two-thirds as much stock as he already owned. In January, 1913, it issued a second stock dividend of 30%. Beginning in 1918 it issued common stock dividends of 2% every six months, up to January, 1922. Since then it has issued stock dividends of preferred stock at the rate of 5% annually. Thus a total of \$72,430,563 worth of stock has been given away to stockholders, leaving in the treasury \$73,167,048 more of the capital accumulated from profits.

The net effect of these stock dividends has been, for anyone who owned a \$100 share in 1892, to increase his holdings to \$238.65 of common stock and \$10 of preferred, **without the investment of another dollar on his par.** He now draws annually in dividends about 20 per cent on his original cash investment. All this extra reward has come to him

without any labor or foresight on his part since his original investment—unless we count as labor or foresight the signature of a proxy for the annual election of officers. Since the rate of dividend in 1892 was 6%, his annual return has more than doubled.

The Worst Is Yet To Come,

This still is not the whole story. We have said that the company obtained part of its actual cash capital by sales of stock to "the public." This is not strictly true. Such stock was offered in reality to existing stockholders. It was offered at par—or \$100 a share. Yet at the same time the stock was selling on the stock market far above par. For instance, in 1918 the company sold to its stockholders \$12,296,730 at \$100 a share. Yet in 1918 the lowest price of the shares on the stock market was \$127.75. The highest was \$158.50. Thus the company made a present to every shareholder who purchased this stock, of at least \$27.75 for every share he bought. If the buyers wanted to turn around and sell their new shares to the public, they could make an immediate profit of anywhere from \$27.75 to \$58.50 per share—anywhere from 27 to 58 per cent. The company itself could have raised that much more cash capital if it sold its shares directly to the public. Instead it gave an immediate and tremendous reward to those of its existing stockholders who cared to invest again and had the cash to do so.

There is no reason why this process of piling up the property and returns of the investors should not continue, as things are now. Their rewards as time goes on will bear a larger and larger relation to their original investment. It is difficult to see how large rewards are either deserved on the basis of the investor's "sacrifice," or are necessary to provide for the accumulation of capital or the extension of machine production.

It should be noted in passing that the General Electric Company is by no means alone in this matter of large gains to the investor. Almost all large corporations in the United States—and many small ones as well—have followed the same policy. Many of them, in fact, have done even better by capital.

TABLE I.

Sources of General Electric Capital

Capital from investment:	
Total Funded debt, Oct. 29, 1923.....	\$22,677,440
Outstanding stock, sold for cash or equivalent	120,853,248
	<hr/> \$153,530,688
Capital from profits:	
Stock dividends	\$72,430,563
P. & L. Surplus	
(Not including reserves)	73,167,048
	<hr/> \$145,597,611
Total capital	\$299,128,299
Per cent of capital from profits to total capital	48.6%

Buyer of one share in 1892 @ \$100 would now own \$238.65 of common stock and \$10 of preferred. He would receive, at the regular rates of dividend (8%on common, 6% on preferred) \$19.09 on his common and \$1.20 on his preferred, or a little over 20%on his original investment.

TABLE II.

Stock Dividends		
July, 1902.....	66-2/3%	\$16,812,600
Jan., 1913	30%	23,297,000
Jan., 1918	2%	2,030,300
July, 1918	2%	2,270,900
Jan., 1919.....	2%	2,317,500
June, 1919	2%	2,363,800
Jan., 1920.....	2%	2,410,098
July, 1920.....	2%	2,705,200
Jan., 1921.....	2%	2,756,500
July, 1921.....	2%	3,321,500
Jan., 1922.....	2%	3,427,900
		<hr/> \$63,713.298

6% Preferred stock issued as stock dividends, Oct. 14, 1922\$8,717,265
(To be issued at rate of 5% annually)

Total stock dividends\$72,430,563

Where the Workers Work

ACCORDING to the 1919 census there are 290,105 manufacturing establishments in this country. Of this number 16,437 employ 101 workers or more. These 16,437 establishments employ 6,435,861 workers out of a total of 9,096,372. That is, one-eighth of the industrial plants employ nearly three-fourths of all the workers in American industry.

Out of the 290,105 establishments there were 1,021 in 1919 or 0.4 per cent which employ more than 1,000 wage workers and 2,770 or 1 per cent employing over 500. There were 235,884 or 81.3 per cent, which employed 20 or under, with only 10.3 per cent of the wage-earners.

The remaining plants, namely those employing between 20 and 500 wage earners, number 51,451, or 17.7 per cent of the total, and employ 50.1 per cent or just one-half of the total wage earners.

THE RIGHTS OF MEN

THE rights of men are a byword; the bones are not yet dust
Of those who broke the shackles and the shackles are not yet rust,
Till the masters are forging new ones, and coward lips are sealed,
While the code that cost a million lives is step by step revealed.

William Herbert Carruth.

The Fords and Billionairedom

Are Getting There, Thanks To The Exploitation of Labor.

INDUSTRY today is not, as formerly, a one-man affair. No longer does one man know or do it all, as in the days when the shoemaker not only made shoes but tanned leather as well.

Today industry is a co-operative, collective enterprise. It is an affair that engages the attention of many men and women, all working together. These men and women do a wide variety of things, but all of them work as a unit to produce certain commodities or "goods."

Some are engineers, others chemists, some accountants, others managers, some mechanics, others laborers—but all work as one and their achievements result from that fact, wholly and solely. Let any great part of them cease their operations and their unity is destroyed. So is their effectiveness as producers. The result is that industry either ceases or is badly crippled, indeed!

What is every great strike, like the steel workers', or miners', or shopmen's, but a startling demonstration of the truth of the co-operative, collective nature of modern industry? These strikes involved nearly a million and quarter men, and produced a near-revolution in effect, disabling American society and evoking unusual legal repression!

But, though modern industry is co-operative, and collective in character, operation and effect, it is private in ownership and control. That is, these great co-operative, collective undertakings, are owned and controlled by private individuals and are conducted primarily for their profit.

In brief, modern industry presents the anomaly and the injustice of being a social institution for private aggrandizement. In no case, is this so evident, as in the case of the Ford Motor Company. Here we have, virtually, two individuals, father and son respectively, reaping the rewards of the labors of 120,000 individuals, co-operatively and collectively united into one productive whole.

No Deception Here

Other corporations boast of many stockholders, who though dominated by a few financiers, give the appearance of wide ownership and control. But, in the case of the Ford Co. there is no such deception. The Ford Co. is plainly and only Henry Ford and son; and not, as in the case of the General Electric Co., say, with its advertised 34,000 stockholders, J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. predominantly.

The story of the Ford Co. is the story of all big corporations. It is a story of growth and accumulation, in which the muscle and brain of countless numbers have contributed from the very beginning.

How Ford Began

Henry Ford was a poor wage-slave, working as an engineer with the Edison Co. in Detroit. He did not invent the automobile, but hit upon one that could be cheaply made in large numbers. As he himself has said, the machines for doing this were only evolved after much experiment by many workers. And so with the auto now bearing his name; he gave it a crude beginning, while others perfected it. It is quantity production, by improved machine methods and armies of workers, that has spelled success for Ford.

Ford's beginnings were dependent on the capital of others. He had to incorporate and sell stocks to others, who helped in the original corporation's development; but whom he was later enabled to buy out, thanks to enormous profits and his hold on over 50 per cent of the original stock.

The first Ford plant illustrates Ford's dependence further. It was only an assembling shop. The various parts entering into the manufacture of his car were made by others. The Dodge Bros., as drop forgers and founders, produced many parts, including engines. They were formerly a part of the Ford Co. and its development made possible the big fortunes they are now investing in their own ventures. Many other concerns made other parts of the Ford car, with similar results.

Gobbling Them Up

The next step in the Ford policy was to concentrate all these branches in the Ford plants. This required the development of engineering, accounting, financing, construction, and other departments under men of great ability. In this way there arose what is now known as the Ford industrial machine. "The Ford industrial machine," says John Keracher, in 'Brains and Industry', "has embodied in it men with more brains than Ford himself. Thousands of wonderful machines and appliances that called for more ability in their invention or construction than Ford's little improvement or invention itself. The inventors of these machines in most cases are unknown and unrewarded. The Ford System, as it is sometimes called, is but an example of the highest development of SOCIAL PRODUCTION" for private profit.

A Horizontal Trust

This profit is immense and growing more stupendous "every day in every way". It is being invested in allied industries. Blast furnaces, steel mills, ore mines, lumber forests, glass and lamp factories, rubber plantations, railroads, cloth mills, water power plants, etc. etc., are being swallowed up by the profits of the Ford system. The result is the creation of what is called a "horizontal trust," This is a corporation that interlocks component industries into an immense industrial scheme. It is the result, not of a premeditated plan, but of growth. This growth is largely dictated by competition—by the need of freedom from outside controlling elements and of cheapness in production wherewith to undersell and outdo others. It is also made necessary by the need for investment

—and what investment would be better than in allied industry that insures freedom, cheapness and additional profits galore?

Fortune Excites Discussion

The Ford fortune, together with its tendencies, is exciting wide-spread wonder and discussion. Wall St. recently has given it an analysis that is astonishing in its disclosures. According to the New York Tribune:

"The money handlers of New York have made recent appraisals of Henry Ford and his doings, and, after carefully revising figures, they have set down the following high points:

"1. The Ford wealth today, represented by the market value of the Ford Motor company, is close to \$840,000,000.

"2. In the twelve months ended February 28, 1923 the company earned upward of \$119,000,000, after deducting \$34,000,000 for taxes.

"3. The Fords are accumulating wealth at the rate of about \$400,000 or \$450,000 a day, or, in round numbers, \$150,000,000 a year.

"4. Giving Henry Ford ten years more of activity (He is now 65 years old), the money experts of New York say that on Jan. 1, 1934, he will possess \$3,000,000,000.

"5. By that time Mr. Ford and his son will be piling up wealth at the rate of \$1,000,000 a day.

"This staggering sum surpasses the annual surplus of the United States government, a surplus which is engaging day by day the time of Secretary Mellon and congress. Cutting it in half by eliminating the anticipated decade, the surplus is still probably greater than that of half the civilized nations of the world, some of them with large standing armies.

"Other Sources of Wealth"

"Motor production is not the only source of the Ford wealth, for the manufacturer owns railroads, coal fields, mineral deposits, cotton belts, hundreds of thousands of acres of cutover Michigan forest lands which he is reforesting, and, on top of the other things, Mr. Ford owns all or substantial parts of companies that sell coal and transportation. He could sell his manufactured cars without profit and still have an enormous profit from the sale of parts and accessories for his motor cars and tractors.

"The Ford policy is to turn back into the business year by year the greater part of the enormous earnings of his company, thus keeping the federal tax on corporate net income at a minimum.

"He is constantly extending his control of raw materials and supplies; constantly reaching for water power, and transportation. His zest for expansion shows no sign of abating; ...and he is able to look Wall street in the eye and tell it to go plumb to, since he has all the money he wants and is lending Detroit (on good security) a million or two a month whenever that municipality runs short.

He Is Not a Spender.

"He spends little or no money on hobbies, and does not believe much in education or philanthropies."

What a climax!

It stands to reason that this climax to co-operative, collective effort is absurd and unjust. What is co-operatively and collectively operated and developed should be co-operatively and collectively owned and controlled. This should logically be the next step in the evolution of the Ford system. This system should be made democratic, i.e., converted into an industrial democracy, as befits its inherent character and growth, both present and prospective.

Small Potatoes

But Henry Ford, great man that he is said to be, is essentially as small as are all capitalists. He like they, will do anything for the workers but get off their backs. He will make no attempt to fit them for a higher destiny than that which they now fulfill. His conception of a new society is one full of more wage slaves—machine automatons—Robots, in brief—for Henry Ford. Truly, a magnificent ideal; yet no different from that of Judge Gary, for instance!

However, there are the wage slaves to consider. How about them? Will they forever remain oblivious to the stifling effects of the Fords and their systems? Will they ever awake to the co-operative, collective character of industry, and all that it implies? We wonder!

White Goods Girls' Strike

(Continued from page 14)

were paying me too high wages that they could not afford and on that account discharged me. This was a violation of the agreement with the union and I brot pressure to bear that the boss be tried and he was tried with the already mentioned results. I lost my job because of the strike and that was all I gained. But it was all worth while. There was but a little fight and it was poorly done, but when the material is taken into consideration, i.e., poor basic principles, non-class conscious young working girls and weak, incapable leadership, not to say dishonest, the gains were worth the efforts.

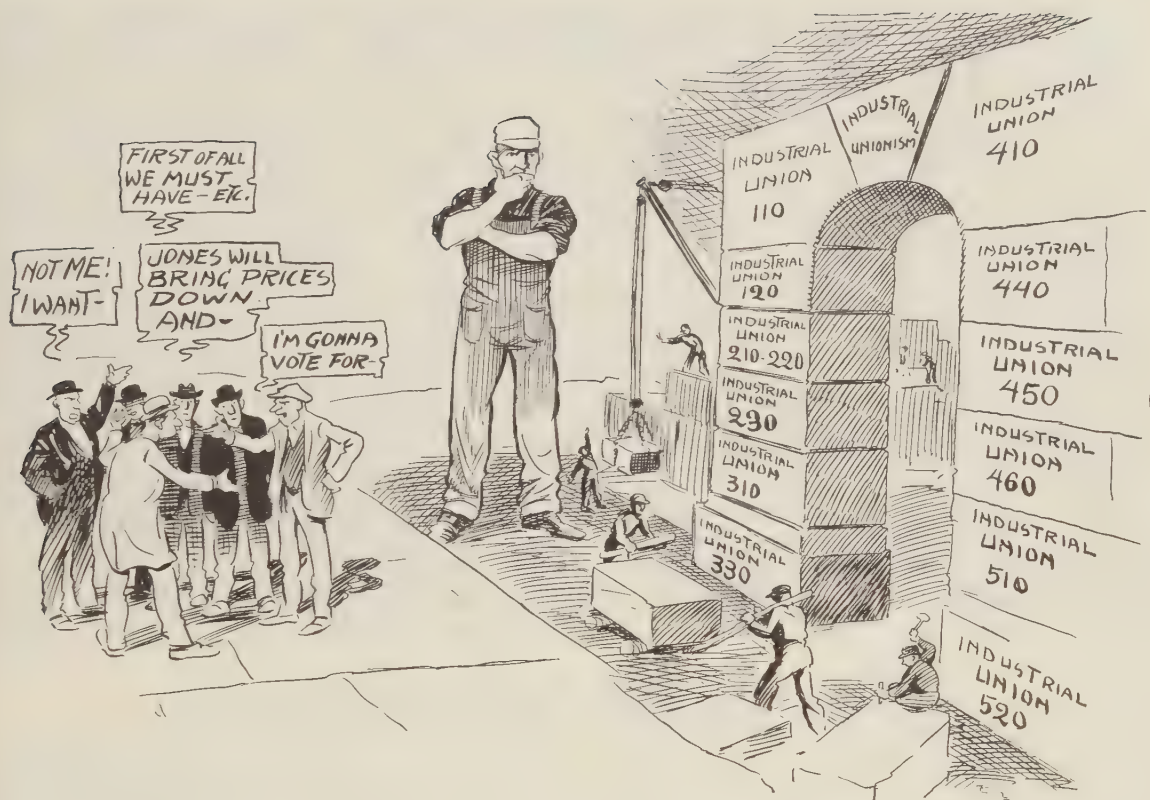
Given correct principles, competent leadership, a class-conscious spirit, and infallible industrial union organization, coupled with a vision of a future society and the deductions must be clear to any who are willing to see—a world won for the workers, and a sacrifice that every member of our class must be proud to make.

CONQUER CALIFORNIA!

THE conviction of Tom Connors in California will only cause the IWW to redouble its work of organization within that state and to make the boycott more effective outside of it.

The unjust methods by which this conviction was secured are emphatically resented. Connors is one of the ablest IWWs and it was his qualifications that most likely caused Busick's unfairness towards him.

We'll conquer California in retaliation for Connors.



Building The New Society In The Shell Of The Old

Producers Unite!

THE above motto was substituted by John D. Rockefeller for "Producers Compete," in 1870 when the Standard Oil Co. was first organized. The fact that the motto, "Producers Unite," was adopted is all too evident.

Surrounding himself with such men as William Rockefeller and S. V. Harkness, within ten years John D. Rockefeller, through the Standard Oil Co., controlled nine-tenths of the oil refineries of the country.

The position of the Standard Oil Co. was rendered still more secure by its control of the pipe lines, rebate contracts with the railroads, and by its ruthless war on stubborn competitors.

To understand the relative power of the U. S. Government as represented by the Supreme Court and the Standard Oil Co., a few figures are necessary.

Government Impotency

On May 11, 1911, the Supreme Court handed down a decree declaring the Standard Oil Co. a trust in restraint of trade. Standard Oil Co. stock at this time had a paper value of about 98 million dollars. The market value in 1921 of the Standard Oil Properties, as they are called, was held at 3,276 million dollars or about thirty-five times the capital value in 1911.

These figures show the utter impotency of governments when confronted with economic power, such as is wielded by the Standard Oil Co.

It would appear that the oil workers, the actual producers, would have learned from the object lesson set by the organization of the Standard Oil Co. and have developed an organization that could have met such an organization of the owners of the oil industry in the daily and continual struggle that the workers are compelled to maintain. But such is not the case. We find the workers in the same position that the owners of the industry were in 53 years ago. The same competition that proved a hindrance to the owners of the industry is proving to be more than a hindrance to the workers; it has become a positive menace.

Workers' Unity Necessary

The competition among the workers for the ever fewer jobs grows more intense, and as the army of the workers grows larger with the new methods of production, the amount of labor power needed is lessened, and a more intensive exploitation of the labor power employed takes place.

"Producers Unite," is the motto that has to be adopted by the actual producers, viz., the workers, with the same purpose in view that prompted the founders of the Standard Oil Co.

In unity there is strength, but unity of purpose demands organization to carry out that purpose, and on the degree and structure of the organization depends the success in accomplishing any desired end.

The IWW with its industrial form of organization, is the only organization through which the workers can hope to cope with the colossal power wielded by the owners of industry. "All workers in any one industry, in one union, and all industrial unions welded together in one big union," is the weapon that is all powerful.

The strength and importance of industrial unionism as advocated by the IWW is not underestimated by the master class. In spite of the abuse, slander and ridiculous charges made against it by the master class through the kept press, it continues to grow. Witness the recent strikes on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and the complete tie-up in the woods of the northwest last year, for the betterment of working conditions.

The workers are beginning to realize the necessity of industrial unionism as never before and they are

looking to the IWW as the only organization through which the solidarity of labor can be accomplished.

Craft unionism with its officialdom and complete division of the workers has outlived its usefulness. To meet the One Big Union of the employing class, there must be One Big Union of the workers. To the motto, "Producers Unite," we would add, "Oil Workers Organize," you have nothing to lose, but a whole world to gain.

Conferences

Conferences of OWIU 230 will be held in Taft, and San Pedro, Calif., in the first part of March. There will be a conference of delegates and members held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, March 17, 1924, to map out a program for an organized drive in the oil industry this summer. Any members in the California district who cannot attend the conferences there and have any suggestions or resolutions they wish acted upon can send same to the branch secretary at San Pedro or Taft. Any member who cannot attend the Oklahoma City conference can send resolution or suggestions to J. H. Miller, 218 Culbertson Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Co-operation 100 Per Cent

A BIG restaurant concern states in its company paper that, "The modern industrial corporation requires of every member of its organization for smooth and efficient functioning: 100 per cent co-operation." It is true. Without this co-operation it would be absolutely impossible for big industries to function.

Now we aren't interested in the successful functioning of industry for profits. But we are interested in the building up of an industrial organization that can take over the industries and make them function for the benefit of the working class. This too, will require co-operation.

We are living in an age of social production and achievement. The fatal flaw in the capitalist system is that all wealth is produced co-operatively by the workers but is owned and controlled by a few individuals.

The capitalists know that the success of their business depends on the co-operation of all their employees. They beg for it in their press, in the name of patriotism, Christianity or some other myth. They try to get it by kidding us with vague promises of individual advancement. These efforts failing they compel it with threats of discharge, but regardless of how they get it, **they must have co-operation.**

We workers have learned part of our lesson in 100 per cent co-operation. We have built up great industries that produce all the necessities and luxuries of life in abundance. And what have we gained? Wage slavery, poverty, misery and disease. Are these things the result of too much co-operation? No, they are the result of the blind, unintelligent co-operation of the many workers for the benefit of a few parasites.

We must now learn to co-operate 100 per cent in the building of an organization strong enough to demand the co-operative ownership and control of all the wealth that the workers have co-operated in producing.

The historical successor of the capitalist system is the Workers' Co-operative Commonwealth 100 per cent.

A. C. H.



A New Opportunity

SOCIETY has always been divided into two classes—those trained to give orders and those trained to obey orders. In the former latent executive ability is developed to the highest degree for the purpose of exploitation of the latter, who are shut out from the opportunity for the development of their own executive ability, either in school or in industry.

The labor movement seeks to develop the latent executive ability of every worker. The door of opportunity is opened to all. This service to the working class yields efficient and competent managers and executives—not for purposes of exploitation, but for co-operative service.



CASSABIANCA TO DATE

The boy stood on the burning deck,
With bootleg trickling down his neck.
His daddy beckoned—he could not go,
Because he knew he'd stagger so.

Watty in Tulsa Tribune.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



PHILADELPHIA, PA., M. T. W. HEADQUARTERS

At 928 E. Moyamensing Ave. Conducts open forum every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. Branch is holding meetings on the waterfront and hopes to have the longshoremen, who are coming back, lined up by spring.

City Labor vs. Country Labor

By J. M. BEST

THIS article is an original contribution to Industrial Pioneer from a town in Kansas. It is not what one would call an orthodox IWW article. Nevertheless, it is printed here, as it expresses the farmer's standpoint, while, at the same time, reflecting his desperate condition. Its value, on the latter account, is great!

Industrial Pioneer will be pleased to devote a page or two of each issue to a discussion of the points raised in this appeal. Should you desire to take part, make your contribution as brief as possible.

MY whole life has been spent among the laboring people, both in the country and city, and today their condition is largely due to the fact that they do not understand each other, and the problems which confront them as farmers and city laborers. For fifteen years it has been my good fortune to publish a country newspaper. I say good fortune because it brought me in close contact with God's best people. Later I became the publisher of a weekly paper in one of our metropolitan cities in Kansas, and it was there that I mingled with the city's laboring people. Again I learned people who were God's chosen ones. People who were giving their life blood and energy in keeping the wheels of industry moving. When we looked into the faces of these men and women, and saw the havoc the daily struggle was playing in their lives, our hearts went out to them, and their problems became our problems.

If it were possible we would like to switch the whole condition around, putting the farmers in the city and the city laborers on the farms. Nothing would do more to teach each class, whose interests

are identical, that they both have a common cause. If this were done and all could see the light, one big union would be the result and they could dictate to one of the rottenest systems in the world.

Why do farmers read farm papers and farm literature and city laborers read literature dealing with the problems of city life? Why not the city man read the problems confronting his brother on the farm and the farmer read of the industrial slavery in the cities?

Am I my brother's keeper? Yes, you are each one of you responsible to the other and to your God. You are either going to educate yourselves to the true condition of affairs or you are each going hand in hand to the worst slavery in history.

My Brother, what do you owe to the world? Let me answer it. You owe the best there is in you for the good of your posterity. If you live in this old world and just kind of slide through, with no thought of tomorrow, you are one of the most deplorable persons in the world. You owe the best there is in you to your fellow creatures, and that will only be brought about by you getting right

down to business and using the thing your father gave you, your head. This old world is being hobbled by having the rank and file of the people on a vacation. You have quit thinking. You must take it on yourself to think the problems through.

The other day we were talking with a fairly intelligent laboring man, one who was above the average, insofar as he was a good mechanic and was capable of drawing down a good salary. He said: "What is the use, it is fixed anyway." Thousands say this same thing to themselves, and this is just the reason we are where we are as a people. Education and agitation are the only things which will bring action, and God hasten the day when the farmers and townspeople can understand each others' problems. When this comes about, and the laborer of the city and the laborer of the country vote together, they can rule the world. When this comes about let's hope they will deal out mercy and justice.

We have watched the hatred grow between the men who are forced into the harvest fields, and as we see it, it is all because we do not understand each other, and the propaganda put out by the ruling class broadens the gulf which keeps them in the saddle. It is true that some of the men who come into our harvest fields are unworthy, but many are brothers in the truest sense of the word, and have loved ones at home whom they are trying to pro-

vide for. The pin headed, and those who do not want to be fair, class the honest man from the city with the bad element. We know the feeling here in the country and it bides no good for the masses, and some solution must be worked out. We must become educated in the vital questions that confront us. We would like to see the condition come about which would make these harvest expeditions unnecessary, but while that is coming about we would love to see a plan worked out whereby the advent of our city brothers into our midst would be welcomed.

The world does not stand still and as it is now we are drifting, and where? Did you ever look your dear wife and babies in the face and ask yourself this question, "What am I doing for you to perpetuate your future?" The man who has lived and has not contributed something for the betterment of his people had just as well never have existed. You have a head and why not use it? This country is yours and you deserve something better than the crumbs you are now getting, while many are living on the fat of the land.

In conclusion we ask you this question, "If you continue as you are, what will the harvest be?" Buckle on your armor, get out of this indifferent state and enjoy the freedom our forefathers fought to gain.

Grounds for Encouragement

THE labor movement everywhere is in a deplorable condition. The rise of the working class that the world war made possible, had the class-consciousness to seize the opportunity been present, seems further away now than ever before. Even in Russia where the breakdown of the pseudo-feudal system made revolution imperative, the proletariat are retreating in favor of the peasant interests and of a statecraft that is dictated by capitalist considerations and necessities. In Italy, Hungary, Finland, Germany and other places where the workers have had a temporary hold of power the results have been the same, namely, bloody disaster and reaction. Apparently, the outlook is desperate and disheartening. Apparently, there is no prospect of the working class ever gaining the ascendancy either in the USA or anywhere else.

We say apparently, for judging from present day appearances, the working class is foredoomed to perpetual slavery. It cannot break the chains that bind it; try as it may, it is forever and eternally damned.

The Hope of History

But history gives us hope to believe that now, as always, appearances are deceptive. History is repeating itself, not as comedy but as a festival for encouragement.

Following the Napoleonic wars, the English and French working classes were terribly oppressed and enslaved. Associations and combinations among

them were outlawed and conditions were of the very worst. Exploitation reached its lowest point, its fiercest phase, then. Nevertheless, the English and French working classes continued to organize and improve their conditions despite obstacles to the contrary; until their labor movements were among the most powerful in pre-war Europe. The same was true of the German labor movement. In Germany, the Bismarck anti-socialist laws crippled and well-nigh destroyed working class organization, only to see its rise in a manner that far surpassed that of all other European countries.

We have also only to compare the Paris Commune with the rise of Russian communism to grasp the fact that evolution may have not only its retrogressings but also its leaps forward on an unprecedented scale.

And look at the history of this country! Consider the wreck and ruin in which the Civil War aftermath left its labor movement. And then recall the million textile workers, miners and shopmen on strike in 1922! What a contrast! In one case, impotence and despair. In the other, vast organization, high hopes, and near revolution!

And so why despair? Let not appearances deceive us; let the light of history brighten our way when the outlook seems darkest. There's no telling what will happen next; especially as capitalism appears to be going through another stage of development
(Concluded on page 40)

Training for Freedom

The Great Achievement of the Strike of Lumber Workers in the Canadian Rockies.

BY J. A. MACDONALD.

IN the Canadian Rockies the thermometer was forty-five below zero. All around was the snow and the almost unbearable cold, a cold that burns almost like fire, that stings like needles, that gets in the lungs and half freezes the thin partitions of the air cells. The white hills stood in solemn aloofness as though defying puny man to venture out. It was such a day as has been featured in many a romance of the Canadian West only much colder for this was the coldest day for many years. It was the first of January, and instead of the fiction of the writer sitting in his steam heated flat imagining what cold is like, the stage was laid for one of those great, true dramas of humanity that show the intrepidity, the determination, verging almost on the superhuman, with which men are able to do and dare when they get the vision of the future that is possible for labor and contrast it with misery, slavery, extortion and oppression of their present lives.

In spite of the biting rigor of the coldest day in years, while those trained to the softer ways of the cities were cursing the janitor because he had the thermometer in their rooms at forty-five above, at ninety degrees lower the men in the Cranbrook District of the lumber areas of British Columbia were challenging the power of the lumber trust and of the elements. It was no summer vacation on which they were leaving the camps. They were leaving to attain for themselves the status of men, the rights of men and that power which organization alone gives to the industrial slave. They were staking their misery, low wages, inhuman conditions against the profits of their bosses, and nothing, not even a killing cold could freeze the edge off their determination. The sleigh haul which was to bring in the logs which had been produced all summer was beginning, and they were going to win their demands or there would not be any sleigh haul this winter—and to date there has not been.

Never with climatic conditions so hostile was there a response so heroic. When one remembers that these were the men who could not be organized, one must marvel at the vast new forces that are operating at the basis of modern industry, and at the organization that is moulding the world to the consciousness of greater things lying within the lap of the future, and is operating in the hearts of the workers of the world giving them an aim, ambition, incentive and initiative that makes all things possible.

The Romance Of Achievement

To my mind as personifying some of this new spirit which the IWW is to the working class comes the memory of Fellow Worker MacNeil, just one of the many heroic figures in the saga of the working class of which I have recently been a spectator. Slow speaking, hesitant, with the gift of thought but not of expression, without the figure that attracts attention, one would say that he was just an ordinary lumberjack, and he is, but at a time when no lumberjack is ordinary, when around all of them is the glow of great deeds done unassumingly. When I saw him in Cranbrook, there was about his unromantic figure the romance of achievement. His nose had been frozen, and his ears nipped and both were peeling. He had won these insignia of rank in the army of labor calling out camp after camp after travelling long distances on the first day of the strike.

As he himself humorously expressed it, he would have frozen to death only for the knapsack of hot IWW literature that he had on his back. Whenever there was a flying squadron to go out, wherever there were things to do for the movement, he was there always insisting that he serve, without sleep,

without reward except the inner consciousness of service. With others he would walk to a camp, breaking trail for twenty miles through the snow; then with those that had been called out he would make a campfire, one of the many campfires of the new society that have flared in the Rockies during the last month, with a light that is undying as long as Capitalism exists. Then he and the others would walk back to the station, wait there for hours without food, and back to the headquarters insisting on more service.

Mine Own People

There are hundreds of men like MacNeil. Men who gave all that was best of themselves, and gave willingly on long hikes that would kill men less rugged, and often without food for a day. Men who would go through hell and back for the IWW, strong, self-reliant thinkers who put their thoughts into action, men who thought in deeds not words, and who saw nothing great in their actions, who would be non-plussed by any suggestion of praise. They were of many races, of many languages, but there is something great in the thought, "these are mine own people, these are the kind of people on which our principles and our organization rests."

Most of them are new members. Only a few in the strike zone have been in the organization more than a year, for the splendid foundation of industrial solidarity in Canada is only the achievement of a year. Only a year old—yet the achievements of that year and the resolution and ambition that it has given to the labor movement of Canada is a gigantic labor achievement. Only a year old—yet in that year strategists in the industrial struggle have been developed who have given to the labor movement new tactics that are wonderful in

their effectiveness. Only a year old, yet in that year has been developed an intelligence, a co-operation, a driving force that makes the present strike superior to any I have ever seen.

Out of the workers who were a year ago untaught in unionism, through education, through great sacrifices and efforts has been developed an organization that is a revelation of the forces lying latent in the working class which can be made through organization to function for labor.

More Than A Union

To these workers, who, while a short time ago unorganized are now carrying on one of the greatest struggles of labor, the IWW is more than a union. It is a science frigid in its analysis of modern industry. It is a light of hope in the jungles of slavery. It is a bugle call to supreme effort in which the individual is merged in the class. It is a vision in the night of the present system of the dawn when mankind is free and science, thought and organization have redeemed the world. Around the movement is concentrated all their powers to think, to feel and to live. To them solidarity is more than a philosophy; it is life expressing itself in action. It is a great moral force in their lives, an elevating power, a force expanding their possibilities, giving them inspiration and hope.

A Moral Lesson

When in one of the papers of the city of Cranbrook the Chief of Police made the statement that the manner in which the IWW conducts strikes is a moral lesson to the citizens, he was stating one of the significant facts of the strike, that the IWW is a great moral force, and this largely because it does not found its morality on the shambles of capitalism, and the lie of class superiority; on a system that while preaching a shoddy morality at the same time places a premium on lying, cheating, theft, and the survival of those who are most ruthless in trampling on the necks of others to power.

The IWW is a great moral force for the reason that it brings to the surface all that is best in the worker, all that higher nobility in men which only a movement with a vision and a mission can touch.

A Moral Force

Before the organization of the IWW in the lumber camps of the present strike zone, five men would go to Cranbrook, and within three hours at least two of them would be staggering through the streets mumbling the idiocies that come out of bottles. Two days in the joints and the brothels and they would be without money—wrecks before the bright lights of the bootlegging dens, victims of the avaricious steely glints in the eyes of harlots. Their winters' work would enrich the powers that prey on them in the cities as the bosses prey on them in the camps. Then—often back doors, the begging of men on the street, and back to the dismal toil of the camps again. Nor is this difficult to understand when one knows the degradation which the capitalist system produces. It is natural that men who are worked like brutes, housed like brutes, and fed like hogs should seek to regain the fleeting mem-

ories of the manhood that the bosses are crushing out of them for profits in the illusions and false invigoration of what is called whiskey in the lumber towns. Men work so hard, and live in such a stultifying environment where there is no organization on the job, that they demand the kick of the booze before they can feel human even for a few hours.

The Material Of The Movement

Often in the lumber areas in the past, they have been pointed out to me, and sometimes by men who made their graft out of the bootlegging joints, or through ownership which means partnership with the harlots, through the rent on the houses they occupy, for nothing is more unctuously righteous that the capitalist with his foot on a nickel. They would say: "There they are, in town two days, drunk and broke, and this is part of the working class to which your movement wants to give the management of the industries of the world. They are unstable as water, incapable of organization, utterly hopeless; nothing can be made of such material."

Anything with the power to toil is good enough for capitalism. The more hopeless, the less gifted with the power of thought, the less trouble the worker will be, the harder he will be to organize. Capitalism wants hands, not men, for men would demand conditions. Anything with a little more highly developed imitative powers than the gorillas, and with the gorilla's strength will suit the lumber bosses.

Men Wanted.

But the IWW wants men, real thinking men to fight the struggles of labor, to lead labor to its historic mission and goal. Capitalism deforms the workers into mere work animals. The IWW reforms men to a militant manhood, develops all that is best and highest in them, arouses the impulses and aspirations that the bosses have stifled. This is the underlying fact that I met forcibly as the motive behind the struggle of the lumber workers of eastern British Columbia.

Now the men are the same, but how different are their actions. The enthusiasm of a great ideal has entered their lives. They are not a mass of milling individuals, for in the white heat of strife all that is best in them is fused in a common struggle, a common hope and a common endeavor into a wonderful unity. To my mind comes the actions of one of the strikers who claims that he was the biggest "booze hoister" who ever worked in a logging camp in Canada, too great claim perhaps to be taken seriously, although the statement was made in the presence of more than one who had achievements of his own in that particular field, with none denying his superiority. But this man is now organized. He has something better to think of, something higher toward which to direct his energies. He is one of the most active men in the strike, and is working as hard to punish the boss as he was in the habit of punishing the booze. He is no longer in that frame of mind

(Continued on page 36.)

French Syndicalism in Perilous Condition

By E. MAST, Paris, France

THE labor movement of France is passing, at present, through a critical period the outcome of which may have a very great influence upon the future development of the labor struggles in that country.

French syndicalism always prided itself on being absolutely independent of any political party, and by its "declaration of principles" at the Amiens Congress—usually known as the Amiens Chart—proclaimed syndicalism not only as a means towards an end, but as the end itself. "Syndicalism suffices to itself" was the proud motto of the French labor movement.

But all this was before the war.

Then came the bankruptcy of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) at the outset of the war, when it accepted that war as a war of liberation and went in for the "sacred unity" with the ruling classes of France. Syndicalism, then—at the only period in its history when it should have shown its strength and its independence—did not seem to suffice to itself in the eyes of its leaders.

After the war, the germ of discontent began to spread faster and faster within the Confederation. The need of an independent labor movement was again the need of the hour, and about two years ago, the revolutionary opposition inside the CGT opposition that had organized itself into Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees within almost all the local branches of the CGT met in convention assembled. The CGT was then shamelessly expelling from its midst the unions that revolted against its reformism. The convention had no other way but to decide to leave the CGT and build up a new labor organization that would fight capital with better arms than the League of Nations and the International Labor Bureau of that League. The newly-formed body—the CGT **Unitaire**—managed to unite almost half of the old CGT membership.

Politics Win

But it was very soon felt that this new offspring, which gave its adherence to the Red Labor International at the latter's second congress in Moscow, was being systematically driven into purely political channels. Simultaneously the Communist party of France introduced its system of encircling the labor movement by the setting up of "syndical commissions" attached to the local branches of that party whose members were to carry out, inside the unions, the decisions and the dictates of the Communist party. It soon became evident to the non-party elements of the CGTU that the latter was becoming nothing but a tool in the hands of the politicians.

French labor cannot bear politicians and political trickery. It is a tradition. It feels that they exist to mislead, that their aim is to use labor as a tool for their own ends.

It thus came about that very soon the revolutionary anti-political elements within the CGTU came to loggerheads with the majority of that body over the question of the independence of the labor movements from the encroachments of any political party.

The two congresses of the CGTU—at Saint-Etienne in June, 1922 and at Bourges in November, 1923,—both dealing with its affiliation with the Red Labor International and with the relations between syndicalism and party politics, clearly indicated the dangerous turn French syndicalism was taking by submitting to the dictates of a political party. This situation led to the anti-political element of the CGTU forming a revolutionary syndicalist minority whose watchword became: "Syndicalism in danger."

The struggle came to a head on January 11th. On that day the communists of Paris were going to hold a meeting in the "Maison des Syndicats" (Trade Union Hall), and speak upon labor problems. This incensed those of the French syndicalists who considered that the increasing impudence of the party men in hiring the very Trade Union Hall for the purpose of holding a meeting upon questions that were admittedly in the sole competence of labor organizations, had to be met by a vehement protest.

The Cry of "Dictators"

The meeting was crowded. Passion rose high. The small handful of syndicalists—about 40 in all in a crowd of 3,000—was repeatedly provoked by one of the communist speakers, Treint, who pointed repeatedly at them, taunting them for their opposition and shouting at them, accusingly, "dictators," "dictators," "dictators." This seemed to have been a signal, because immediately afterwards shots rang out. Men began falling; two men, severely wounded, were transported to the hospital where they died shortly afterwards. About 20 others received more or less serious wounds.

A shout of execration rose from every corner of working France against this dastardly outrage. Upon investigation it was found that all the bullet marks were in the wall that sheltered the band of 40-odd syndicalists. Of the two workmen killed, one of them, **Poncet**, is an anarchist-syndicalist; the other—**Clos**—is a syndicalist metal worker, member of the revolutionary syndicalist minority of his union (the metal workers' union is under the control of the communists); all the wounded belong to the syndicalist group. It was thus clear to everyone as to where the shots came from and for whom they were meant.

The funeral of the victims was a pretext to get to Paris the representatives of all the oppositional groups within the CGTU and deliberate upon the attitude to be taken towards the meddling of communist politicians into labor affairs and towards

Thirty-one

the CGTU itself which, by its silent connivance could not be considered otherwise than an accomplice in the tragic events of January 11th.

One salutary effect of the tragedy was that at a council meeting of the Administrative Body of the Trade Union Hall it was decided that the hall will, henceforth, be let only to bona-fide labor organizations!

Opposition's Program

The provisional delegates of the oppositional groups inside the CGTU met on the day of the funeral and passed a general resolution upon the events within the labor movement of France leading up to the tragedy of January 11th. Here are some of the more important paragraphs of that resolution:

"The Congress of the CGTU at Bourges has confirmed the hold of the Communist Party over the CGTU. In allowing a political party the possibility of conducting a specifically labor propaganda, the Executive of the CGTU has proved its powerlessness to carry out the syndicalist program which, more than ever, must be cleared of every vestige of party demagoguery as nefarious to the working class as the theory of the common interests of classes.

"The Congress of Minority, painfully shocked by the tragic events that took place in the Trade Union Hall, confirm the declarations sent out to the press by its executive and frankly declares that it considers the Communist party as responsible for and guilty of the slaughter.

"Faced by the abdication of the executive of the CGTU before a political party which dares to speak and act on behalf of the working class; the Congress reminds the entire organized proletariat that such incidents are the logical and unavoidable consequence of the interference of political parties in the syndicalist world; they bring with them nothing but the germs of hatred and discord and reduce to naught the revolutionary spirit of the labor organization.

"But anxious, before everything, to save—as against the politicians—the higher interests of the working class, and in full accord with the Amiens Chart which invites all the workers, without distinction of opinion, to group themselves in the union, the Congress declares that labor unity alone is capable to carry out the labor onslaught against the employers and cleanse syndicalism from any political influence.

"Taking into consideration that neither the formula of united front, nor that of the open door, promulgated by the two Confederations, could lead to such unity, the Congress empowers its bureau to get immediately into touch with the two CGT's and demand from them the calling of a Congress of Unity as the only means to carry out the general unity of the working class." . . .

Unity at All Costs

It will be seen from these excerpts the main plank of the labor movement in France is, at present, that of **unity at all costs**, because it is felt that since the existence of the two Confederations, there has been

no struggle worthy of the name against the common enemy—Capitalism—but just wrangling and squabbling within one's own ranks.

But it was needed that shots should whistle through the air and that killed and wounded should be carried out, to make the French syndicalists aware of the danger they are running when politicians begin to meddle in labor problems. Now that fratricidal blood has flowed, the workers of France are beginning to get restless about the fate of their unions and are looking for a way out of the dilemma that is before them: reformist, with no fighting backbone, CGT—or dictatorial, political, under the heel of a politicians' party, CGTU?

The situation called out by the tragic scenes of January 11th has strengthened the hands of those who were claiming independence from either of the two Confederations, and a spirit of autonomy is now blowing inside the ranks of French syndicalism. The old CGT has become a body unable to undertake any fighting on behalf of the working class; the CGTU, entirely controlled by the communist party, sees every struggle in the light of the conquest of power by that party . . . on behalf of the proletariat!

The true revolutionary elements of France are thus between the devil and the deep sea. They entrench themselves behind autonomy, with the hope that they will become the ferment that will raise the future unity of the French labor movement outside politics and politicians, based upon the complete independence of syndicalism, and upon the capacity of the latter to undertake not only the abolition of state and wage system, but also the reconstruction of a federalist commonwealth of labor.

Disgusted

A great many workers who until now refused to consider the danger of politics, are now disgusted. Many refuse to continue to pay their membership dues to their unions, under the pretext that their affiliation to the CGTU renders them responsible for the political line taken up by that body. The Council of the Paris One Big Union of Builders—the strongest and most revolutionary union within the Paris area—has resolved to withdraw from the CGTU and remain autonomous—i. e., independent of the two existing Confederations. Owing to this decision, the Industrial Builders' Federation of France (affiliated to the CGTU) in which the Paris Union of Builders is the largest and most important unit, is obliged to follow suit. It may be added that the great majority of branches of this Federation are wholly in agreement with the Paris branch.

We thus see that the wave for unity spoken of above—the main plank of the Revolutionary Syndicalist manifesto—is preceded by a wave of autonomy, of independence from both Confederations. This looks, at first sight, paradoxical. Let us just see how the events might develop within the early future:

In conjunction with the decision of the Conference
(Concluded on page 36.)

What the Movie Photographed at Centralia, on Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1919



Pathé Agents Made Inexorable Record of Mob Attack on IWW Hall

BY RALPH CHAPLIN

THE volley that was fired in self defense by the embattled loggers consumed but a second or two of time. Omitting the pursuit of Wesley Everest and the ensuing death of Dale Hubbard the actual shooting was over almost as soon as it started. The shooting at best was ghastly enough but it might conceivably have been worse. It is hard to set bounds to desperation and there were only two really desperate men among the loggers, Wesley Everest and Hanson, who escaped. In view of the provocation it is surprising there were not more like these two. Had the majority of the loggers been in the frame of mind of Everest and Hanson the entire group would no doubt have taken a stand, Alamo like, and fought until the last man

STATE OF WASHINGTON)
COUNTY OF LEWIS) ss

Walter Bland, being first duly sworn on oath deposes and says: That he is a citizen of the United States from 21 years of age residing in the city of Tacoma, Pierce County, Washington; that on or about the 15th day of August, 1920, while riding in a Northern Pacific train between the city of Seattle and Yakima, Washington, he had a conversation with a man whose name is to him unknown who stated that he was a traveling agent for the Pathe Film Company; that said agent of the Pathe Film Company stated to this affiant that he and his assistant were in Centralia on November 11, 1919,

they had been instructed to have their camera on North Tower Avenue opposite the I.W.W.Hall to take pictures of the raid; that in pursuance of said instructions said agent and his assistant were located opposite the I.W.W.Hall on Tower Avenue and had taken pictures of the raid, said pictures showing the soldiers rushing the hall and showing soldiers dropping who were shot while breaking into the hall; that immediately after said raid said agent and his assistant were thrown into jail and kept there six hours; that their camera, worth approximately Seven Hundred and Fifty Dollars (\$750.00), was completely destroyed and demolished and after their release they were ushered to a train and told to leave town immediately; that they did leave town without any resistance whatsoever.

Further affiant sayeth not.

Walter Bland
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of July, 1921.
NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR THE STATE OF WASHINGTON RESIDING AT CENTRALIA.

was dead. But as it happened things worked out differently. The majority of the loggers felt justified in defending their lives and their hall as they did. Having acted within their legal rights they felt they had nothing to fear in court—if justice were accorded them. By one climactic and tragic act they had called attention of the world to the unrebuked and unpunished mob lawlessness that had been directed against their organization for months and years. By resorting to this desperate measure they had achieved all that they wished to achieve. Had their minds and hearts, as was claimed, been set on bitter and remorseless revenge more members of the mob would have died than those whose names are

recorded. The act of the loggers was not only an act of self defense; it was an act of protest as well. By exercising restraint they showed the public that wanton killing was far from being their purpose.

The above facts were plainly evident to all fair-minded persons who attended the trial. It was facts like these that the prosecution and the Judge sought constantly to cover up and confuse. And it was facts like these that the defense attorney, using all means at his disposal, attempted to bring to the attention of the jury.

Unanimous Testimony

One of the outstanding features of the courtroom testimony was the unanimity of nearly all witnesses regarding the firing following the attack and not preceding it. Discounting, for the sake of argument, the testimony of the loggers themselves on the ground that it might be "self serving"; there still remains the testimony of numerous impartial eyewitnesses who viewed the parade from various points along the line of march. This testimony was never successfully rebutted in the courtroom. In addition there was the testimony of legionnaires and paraders who, in justification of their manhood and honesty, were impelled to testify for the defense. Besides this—and even more convincing—are the damaging admissions of guilt which Attorney Vanderveer wrung from the reluctant lips of witness after witness for the prosecution.

Starting with the somewhat flippant admission of Dr. Bickford, it may be safely said that the case for the defense might have been proved under ordinary circumstances out of the mouths of the prosecution's own witnesses.

It must be borne in mind that everything the jury learned, or could learn of the facts of the case was from verbal testimony—one side claiming one thing; the other another. The jurymen were high-strung, nervous and impatient for facts—tangible facts; and they were given little else to consider but words. Out of these words—this veritable deluge of words—these twelve men had to form a picture in their minds of the actual happenings of November 11th. The facts were simple enough, but it was a case of "not seeing the forest for the trees." Also the judge seemed determined that they should not learn of the facts.

Positive Evidence

In these days of mechanical progress it often happens that evidence of a positive and definite character can be offered for the consideration of men in the jury box. Many ingenious and scientific devices, and processes have been invented to prove innocence or guilt with a fair degree of certainty. The fingerprint system is pretty well established. Many a man has been convicted or acquitted by the silent testimony of "thumb prints on the scenes of crime." "Here is the gun or knife that did the job," the jury is told, "and on it the impression of a whorl or loop identically the same as or altogether different from the index print of the defendant." If the fingerprints are not forged, their evidence is con-

sidered valid and the jury influenced accordingly. The dictaphone has been used to good advantage, and the photograph also.

In the Mooney case both of these wonderful devices were used to show that Mooney was framed and that he could not possibly have been at the place the prosecution claimed. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case enlarged photographs of the barrel of the Sacco gun prove beyond doubt that it is of different caliber and could not therefore have fired the bullet which killed the man for whose life he is asked to pay the extreme penalty. In the Centralia case little technical evidence of this kind was submitted. One instance, although of comparative unimportance, is worthy of note. It may help to indicate the value of weightier things which were not permitted to be given to the jury at all: Earl Watts and Ben Casagrande were shot, the prosecution claimed, while standing around the corner from the IWW hall. Both were shot with hard nosed bullets. But Attorney Vanderveer from the prosecution's own witnesses had established the fact that the only hard nosed bullets used were fired from the inside of the hall. This would put the prosecution, if it wished to press its contention, in the impossible position of claiming that these particular bullets swerved from their natural course, followed Watts and Casagrande around the corner and there did what bullets are supposed to do. Evidence of this kind is conclusive. It enables the brain of the juror to grasp the image. It makes the fact almost visible. It enables one side or the other to demonstrate its case clearly before the jury and to build up a true picture of the point or points in dispute.

Eloquent Testimony

Photograph, fingerprint and dictaphone are considered strong evidence. When genuine exhibits of this sort are placed before a jury they reveal more eloquently than words the facts of the case. The word "genuine—" is used advisedly, for, with the exception of fingerprints, such evidence is almost impossible to fake. There is but one thing on earth that would make more unanswerable testimony as to the truth or falsity of conflicting claims in a court room—the moving picture. A full sized, life-like reproduction on the silver screen of a man committing a crime would convict that man before any jury in a minute. The identification would be positive. It would remove all doubt. Also it would free an innocent man unjustly accused, because the jury, unconfused by verbal testimony, could see in a flash the difference between the man on trial and the man who did the job. A burglar, for instance, would not relish the idea of the jury viewing a moving picture of himself crawling out of a certain window with a bag full of swag. And if the burglar, or one of his pals, could lay hands on that reel of film before the trial, they would be likely to try to destroy it. This brings us to one of the most dramatic incidents in the history of the Centralia Conspiracy—the roll of film taken

during the raid and afterwards destroyed by men who feared to have their dark deeds come to light!

Movie Shows Attack

Strangely enough the defense almost secured cinematographic evidence of the mob attacking the hall to present to the jury. This would have done in a minute or two what thousands of words of evidence were unable to do—brought the actual happenings on Armistice day before the eyes of the jury. It would have saved weeks and months of the jury's and every one else's time. It would have established the innocence or guilt of one side or another in an incredibly short time.

How the moving picture machine happened to be stationed opposite to the union hall on Armistice day and who sent it there is another story; the fact remains that the machine was there. Some enterprising director of the Pathé Corporation in the northwest had dispatched an operator and his assistant to the IWW hall in anticipation of the raid. And the Centralia Armistice Day raid had been expected for some time even in Seattle. No doubt this director sent the movie man to Centralia just as he would have sent one to a town that anticipated a flood or one that stood in the way of a forest fire. The catastrophe might not be serious, and then again it might. You never can tell. And it's good business to have your man stationed where things are likely to happen.

Somehow or other, moving picture managers—the kind who feature weekly news stuff of the spectacular kind—always manage to get in on the ground floor. Their “nose for news” invariably leads them to get the material that will give the public a “kick.” Whether it be a mine explosion, a train wreck, a booze raid or a marriage of distinguished social parasites, the movie camera always is found sticking its inquisitive nose into the scene. And so it was at Centralia.

The Pathé man, in all probability, was not aware of the fact that the mobsters intended the raid to result in tragedy. No doubt he believed the legionnaires would merely “roughhouse the Reds a little,” and let it go at that. Newspaper reports of incidents of this sort had been appearing with monotonous regularity; they were fast becoming too stale to feature. But a moving picture of such a patriotic ceremony (with appropriate captions) would make a real hit. There could be for instance the neatly dressed and firm-faced legionnaires entering forcibly the dark den of iniquity and dragging its occupants into the light of day. A close-up could show a laughing soldier holding a ragged logger by the scruff of the neck and saying, “Get out, you Bolshevik; there's no place in this town for you.” This picture would have tickled the funny bone of whatever good citizens were in the audience. Main Street would have applauded heartily—the women and the men and some of the kiddies.

All this might have been, and no doubt would have been, had the movie man guessed right. But he didn't guess right. How was he to know that

the paraders carried ropes and that their purpose was sinister? How was he to know that instead of the customary quasi-comedy of 100 percent militant there was to be tragedy in the grimmest sense of the word?

A reproduction of one of the affidavits giving hitherto little known facts about the movie camera and its operators is reprinted elsewhere. It is noteworthy of serious consideration. The mind cannot help but dwell on what a convincing and unanswerable bit of evidence this reel of film would have made for the defense. . . . The parade passing and returning to the hall; the legionnaires bunching up, rushing the hall door and crashing it open with blows . . . A bewildered pause, men dropping in their tracks. . . . And all the time the movie machine turning inexorably—recording a truth that could not be gainsaid.

Some reader may say the above, perhaps too plausible outline was sketched only from disputed verbal testimony given in court, and that this remarkable film, had it not been destroyed, might have shown the very opposite—the loggers shooting the paraders down in cold blood. Then why, I ask, were these films destroyed by certain dignitaries of the City of Centralia, and why was the camera wrecked and its operators driven from the city as soon as it became known that the pictures had been taken. Only guilty men had reason to fear those pictures. The defense did not fear them. The defense would have welcomed them gladly and staked its whole case upon them without fear or reservations. We are positive that those pictures would have been worth the lives and liberties of eleven innocent men if they had not been destroyed in order to cover up the action of the real Armistice Day criminals.

Let the prosecutors explain to the Centralia jurymen and to the world why these films were destroyed!

STRIKES IN NEW YORK

Strikes in New York in 1923 involved 122,179 workers and caused a stoppage of work totalling 1,009,520 working days, according to the report of the bureau of mediation and arbitration, state industrial commission. One hundred five strikes are recorded, in which ten or more laborers were involved. Of the strikers, about 10 per cent, or 12,000, were women. More strikers emerged from the needle trades than from any other industry, it is asserted.

Go west, young workingman!—and get arrested for “criminal syndicalism” whatever that is—when ever you go on strike for higher wages and better conditions.—Covington Hall.

“Dead men tell no tales.” Say, bo, did you ever listen to Lloyd George and Hughes laying out a moral issue? If you did, you wouldn't talk thataway.

Training for Freedom

(Continued from page 30)

which made the booze necessary to him. He is no longer dispirited, hopeless, with nothing to look forward to but slavery, and nothing to look backward on but the unrequited toil and the fleeting emancipation from capitalism which comes in bottles. He has been active and like hundreds of others has not touched one drink since the strike began, and he will not, for no one in the strike zone would sell him a drink; he has been so active in making the bootleggers obey the laws of the province as long as the strike lasts at least.

Can't Fight Booze and Boss

Five men could and did do more drinking before the IWW started organizing in the strike zone, than two thousand five hundred organized men are doing at the present time. "You can't fight booze and the boss" is the motto, and fighting the boss is so much more interesting, so much more elevating and important that the booze is forgotten even by those who in the past were lethargic, fought the booze, their own interests, everything but the industrial robbery on the job.

I have seen men who had broken solidarity, and whose cards had been taken away from them for drinking cry like children to be given back their cards. Invariably they were told that the cards would be given back when the strike was over if they remained sober for the remainder of the strike. That a card which merely represents the power to struggle for higher goals for the workers, to sacrifice for an ideal, should mean so much is itself an indication of the nobility which the IWW is developing in the working class, and the grandeur of the movement which the card represents.

In addition to being the greatest of all labor organizations because it is the weapon of Labor united as a class, the IWW is also the greatest moral movement in the world. It is developing not the slave morality of a slave society, but the morality of the future when man can be his highest, and greatest because he is free and fitted for freedom.

Victory Over Themselves!

Victory over the bosses in the strike area would be merely a small achievement in comparison with the victory that the men on strike have achieved over themselves, the petty prejudices that divided them along lines of nationality, language and creeds and that disorganization and bickering which was holding them in slavery. Now they are united, and in such unity, and the vision and ideals that actuate them is the hope of the working class of the world. In the chaos and welter of a money crazed industrialism they have developed the spirit that fits them for freedom. This is the crowning achievement which makes other achievements possible. This is the lesson of the present strike, its grandest victory. No other can compare with this.

French Syndicalism

(Continued from page 32)

of the Revolutionary Syndicalists on the day of the funeral of the victims, an invitation was sent by the bureau of that Conference to the two Labor Confederations, asking them to call a united congress of all the unions of France with a view of re-establishing one single national organization. The invitation concludes with the following words:

"We consider it useful to inform you that in case of refusal (to call a congress), the minority, anxious as it is to reach its aim and placing itself above all questions of 'shop,' reserves itself the right to consult directly all the labor organizations and to convene if, as it hopes, the local bodies will increase their desire for unity, the Congress which you will have refused."

It does not seem probable that either of the Confederations will reply with a plain affirmative. Each of them will put certain conditions which the other side will be glad to declare unacceptable.

What will happen then?

The minority will, as it threatens, itself call together the Congress and will invite to it all the unions of France over the heads of the two Confederations.

Another Confederation?

There are sufficient chances to believe that most of the unions, thus invited by a "third party," will remain true to their respective National Executive Committees and will, therefore, refrain from attending the hybrid Congress. The only practical result of such a Congress would be—the creation of a third Confederation of Labor!

Too many cooks spoil the broth, we are told. Three Confederations will certainly not endanger the existence of French Capitalism!

But it will become clear to all concerned—at least to those who are earnestly striving towards the building up of a powerful labor organization capable of withstanding the onslaughts of reactionary France—that the fusion, under the guarantee of absolute independence, of all the unions of France into one great National Confederation of Labor, is the only remedy of the French working class.

The next few weeks will clear the atmosphere and will show whether the creation of a third Confederation will be averted by bringing the CGTU to its senses by a return to the revolutionary traditions of French syndicalism, or whether the wave of autonomy will sweep over the whole country and compel the two existing Confederations to bow before the will of the workers to exclude definitely politics from their midst.

MAY THEY INCREASE!

Our idea of a union man: The chap who says, "No, thanks, I know it's a great show and I appreciate your inviting me, but my union meets tonight and I make it a point never to be absent."

WOBBLES

SOME DECAY

It was a regulation company "blow-out." The superintendent, in the absence of the parasitic principal stock owner, who was in Paris enjoying himself in an entirely different way, was "doing the honors" i. e., acting as the royal patron to the employees present. He was passing out some sandwiches. Among the cheese sandwiches were several of limburger.

One of these the "super" handed to a Negro workman. He tasted it very gingerly and it could be seen he was having an awful struggle getting it down. Finally he asked, "Say, Boss, is this cheese really good?" The "super" reassured him and the Negro continued, "That's sure strange stuff. I wonder how they tell when it's spoiled."

At this Mike butted in: "Sure," said he, "they can never tell when anything is spoiled under the present system. Capitalism is limburger gone to decay, but the capitalists know it least of all."

SOUND PSYCHOLOGY

Following a dinner of savants, a certain professor of psychology thought he would test a colored cloak attendant as to his memory. Although the professor pretended to have mislaid his check, the boy without hesitation handed him the right hat.

"How did you know this one is mine?" asked the learned man.

"Ah don' know dat, suh."

"Then why do you give 'it to me?"

"Cause you give it to me when you come in, suh."

ANOTHER "ECONOMIC RETREAT"

The speaker of the evening: I will answer the first speaker last as I want to take him up at length. Why, Comrade, you have forgotten your Marx or you never knew it. Marx doesn't say, . . . And do you expect that by organizing the workers in industrial unions to be able to change the system? Why, there will still be the army, the navy, the police, who are going to fight you . . .

A voice from the audience: Yes, that's right. But when the comrades start a revolution, the government will at once pack and ship arms and ammunition to the Chicago office of the Proletarian Party, so that the comrades will have weapons to shoot down the army and navy with.

A laugh from the audience, and the speaker makes for the nearest stairway to avoid answering the usual after-the-meeting questions.—J. D. C.

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PIONEER.

YES! HOW?



Preacher—The good book says that we should both work and pray!

Mike—Begorra, thin the good book is no good to me. Fur I hav no wurreck; so how in the devil kin I pray, thin?

A DRAMATIC MOMENT

His jaw dropped.....

A tremor passed over his frame. He sat bolt upright in his chair with his fist doubled in his pocket—He turned deathly pale and shook like a leaf—"Great God," he said, "I lost that dime.....my last one!"

NOTHING ALARMING

Walsh: "All the passenger trains in the country are going to stop tomorrow."

Clothier: "Good gracious! What's wrong now? It's surely not another strike?"

Walsh: "Oh, no. It's just to let the passengers get off."

MARIONETTES

"Journalists are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks. They pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities, our lives, are the property of other men."—Jerome K. Jerome.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONUNDRUM

When is oil not a lubricant?

When it causes friction between nations.

We Upon the Firing Line

By LESTER SWEET

COMRADES, can't you hear us calling,
Calling from the firing line,
Hear our voices echoing faintly
Through every age and every clime?

Comrades, we are gray with waiting,
We upon the firing line,
With a courage some call stupid,
Others designate divine.

From Europe's plains to Mexico's mountains
Winds and twists its changing way,
Now advancing, now retreating,
Now flares up, now dies away.

Here the bold slave fought his master,
Here daring serf fought feudal lord;
Now a thin, red line of workers
Challenges King Capital's horde.

Just beyond his servile followers
Beckons us a wondrous sight—
Marble structure, jeweled columns
Flicker in the fitful light.

We it is who best can view it,
We who bear the battle's brunt,
When the furious fires of conflict
Brighten up the space in front.

Hence has murderous Mars been driven,
Lean Poverty has followed him;
And that vile hag, old Prostitution,
Fled outward down the road of sin.

And there 'mongst palaces of marble,
Shall dwell a fair and noble race.
Music, science, sculpture, painting,
All shall beautify the place.

Look! along great Russia's vastness
See the thin, red line advance!
Where we thought the foe was strongest
And our old valiants had no chance.

Crash! the foemen break like thunder
And a mighty surging wave
Sweeps through all the earth, in wonder
Stirring each astonished slave.

Slaves who toil behind in shadows
With a thin, white mask upon the head,
Slaves who cringe before the trenches,
Though your brains be dyed in red.

Millions, look there! See the red line,
Reinforced a thousand-fold,
Despite the foemen's furious war cries,
Enter in the city's gold.

Hurry, Slaves, the line is broken!
Crowd them in their waning might,
Where now stands but one old warrior
Tomorrow let a hundred fight.

Forward, Slaves, the chance of centuries
Perhaps may never come again,
Throw your white masks to the ages,
Let your red blood leap. Be men!

See King Capital's minions, frantic,
Crazed with futile rage and fear,
Try to close the breach, gigantic,
While it widens far and near.

Let tomorrow's new light see thee
All upon the firing line,
Pressing in the jeweled city,
There to live true lives, divine!



SOME SUGGESTIONS

Anent party conventions and platforms let me suggest the following:

The Party Without a Name. (Call us whatever you choose.)

"We point with pride to—nothing;

"We view with alarm—everything;

"We pledge—anything you want."

The standard-bearer of such a party, running on such a platform, would sweep the country.

—W. G. Daniel.

GOT HIS RIGHTS WRONG

Pat was on a sinking ship and was watching with interest the frantic passengers grabbing life preservers, putting them on and jumping overboard. "Shure," said he, "if everybody is stealing, I can too." Immediately he picked up a heavy piece of iron and jumped overboard with it.

Thirty-eight

ZIPS FROM RADIO

Be sure you are right, then organize.

Sometimes you can believe the weather reports in the capitalist papers.

Those stories about Judas hanging himself and again about him falling down and his bowels bursting out must be all bosh. Judging by the number of traitors now-a-days he must have gone forth and multiplied.

When you see a hundred percenter put a clothes pin on your nose, the accent should be on the cent.

Deflation is the name of a new compound for reducing weight. It may affect the brain, though.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Miner's Dream

BY HAROLD ALLINGER

THAT vast parasitic organism that men call Capitalistic Society, has various strange methods of disposing of its human wreckage, after it has sucked the life blood out of its victims.

When the broken slave, his body weakened to the point where it is not possible to squeeze any more profits out of him, is told, curtly, that he is of no further use, as he drags his tortured body away from the machine, he has the choice of three alternatives. If he has raised a family and the members see fit, he may attach himself to them, with the accompanying humiliations that his position forces him to bear. Or he can go to the poor house; or he can become a beggar on the street. One of these ways are almost sure to be your end, fellow worker. Take your choice.

With Spirits Unimpaired

In rare cases the victim, though ruined physically, still retains his spirit unimpaired, and resorts to desperate measures to revenge himself on a remorseless society, that has filched from him the rewards of a lifetime of labor. And others disdaining the insignificant pittance doled out in the name of charity, and realizing the folly of attempting to wreak their vengeance by individual action on the combined forces of society, relinquish entirely the will to live, and like the broken toiler in my story, seek only for a means to utterly efface themselves and hope in the silence of annihilation to win surcease from a world that gave them only disappointment, and robbed them of what they created.

My companion that spring night, by the camp fire in the forest, was a strange creature. His huge bony frame was twisted monstrously. One hand was twisted around so that when his arm hung at his side, the palm was outward with the thumb pointing back. And when he coughed, which was often, or when he spoke, you saw that the man was without teeth.

As I looked at him part of the line from an old poem came back to me across the years, describing a demon in Hell as he "toyed with a shrieking thing," and the thought came to me, that when the fiend had grown tired of the "thing," and threw it down, it must have resembled this man. Only another Hugo could do him justice.

Our meagre supper finished, we lay by the fire smoking, and my new friend discoursed on many things, till at last the thought that was uppermost in both our minds found voice in his tortured soul.

A Great Chance

"Would you think?" he asked, "that less than two short years ago, I was as straight a man as you are. Yes, straighter! for you too have the bent shoulders of toil.

"You are a strong man, but I could have broken

your back without much effort. I am not boasting of what has passed, I am speaking of things as they were."

Now no man likes to have his physical ability compared unfavorably with that of another, so I asked somewhat shortly, "Well if that is true how did you get this way?"

The horror on the far side of the fire laughed bitterly, and I shivered at the noise of it, there in the night in that lonely forest.

"I'll tell you in a very few words how I got this way. I was a good worker! I am not boasting this time either, God knows I am not.

"Yes, that was my reputation in every camp I ever worked in, for I was a miner. I know now that I was doomed to burrow beneath the surface of the earth, like a mole from the day of my birth; for I was born and raised in the mining camps and knew no other life.

"I have delved in the deep mines of Butte, and the 'hot holes' of the Comstock where the scalding water dripped on you incessantly. In Manhattan, Nevada, where the poisonous red arsenic stopes are like vast raw wounds in the world's living flesh.

"And always I chose the places of hardship and danger. Why?—you ask—why? Because they paid the best! Was there not a bonus, or higher wages where Death hid in a dangerous stope? Where a rock no larger than your head, if it fell from above, would change a man to a lifeless piece of clay?

"But falling rock is only one of many snares Death lays for the man who works underground. Some are slower but none the less certain in the end.

A Living Corpse

"Lead, that finds its way into his blood, and twists him into a horrible, grotesque, toothless caricature of a man; gas that hovers unseen in the air of the drift: and most deadly of all the 'dry machine,' that chugging, roaring, insensate monster, that as it eats its way into the living rock, loads all the air with the dust of its endeavors, covering him who is at the same time its master and its victim, with a gray rock dust, and with every respiration the miner breathes in Death, for in a few years, often in a few months a strong, rugged man is changed to a pallid, sunken chested thing, a living corpse, a victim of the miners' consumption."

Once more that terrible cough, then a short pause, and my companion continued.

"Yes, I was a good worker, and I took a fool's pride in the reputation I had gained. But there was something else that drove me on. Only a dream? Yes, but what does any man strive for but that his dreams may be realized? My dream was to escape from the Slavery of the Pit. To live as I believe man was intended to live, on the top and not in the interior of the earth. I dreamed of breathing pure air, of drinking from clear running streams, and

feeling the warm sun on my face every day of my life. I wanted to have a home with bright faced boys and girls at my knee. And I believed I could win to that happy consummation by saving my wages and investing them. Ha, ha.

"Why should I recount to you my many failures. How each time I had laid by a puny hoard, collected at the cost of every pleasure that is the birthright of youth, it disappeared, and I began again the heart-breaking task of piling up another heap.

"But ever my dream beckoned me on. Ever I should say, till the lead got me, and the teeth dropped from my shrunken gums, and my manhood was a memory. That was last fall, and I left the hospital in the shape I am in today, I left the hospital with the knowledge also that I had the 'miners' con' and had about eighteen months more of life.

"I see now, that my life was one long hellish joke, and that I was the butt of the jest.

"I can realize now that it is too late; that the only way I could have helped myself was to have helped every other worker and accepted their help in turn.

"I know now, that the only way disease and death will disappear from industry is when profits are eliminated. The only way any worker can have a happy home is when every worker has one. That time can not come until they cease chasing the phantom of wealth by wages, and bend all their efforts toward establishing the Commonwealth of Labor."

My companion drew his threadbare coat closer about him, and again gave vent to that awful laugh.

"Yes; I was a good worker and you can see the results. But though I am feeble, my very weakness has been the key that set me free from the prison of the mine. Though burdened by disease it is the first time I have ever had a measure of liberty.

"This summer I intend to enjoy that liberty to the utmost, while the sun is shining and the streams are flowing; while the flowers are in bloom, and the woods are green. I have just enough left of what I managed to save through my lifetime of work to last me through the summer months, and I must satisfy the cravings of a lifetime before the snow begins to fall."

"But what of the winter?" I could not check the words.

At the question my friend laughed. That hideous laugh with a vein of madness in it.

"Why should I worry about the winter?" he cried. "Do you not know that a spoonful of cyanide is sufficient to end the cares, in the twinkling of an eye of any one who has grown weary of this existence? This winter holds no terrors for me. When the wind grows cold, and the snow begins to fall, what then is left for me but the poor house or the jail. But I will not go to either. I have enough cyanide to settle the winter problem for me."

My companion arose and shuffled away to where he had made down his bed. And I lay by the dying fire musing on the strange rewards the master holds out for the "good worker."

Grounds for Encouragement

(Concluded from page 28)

in which the working class attitude will mean its life or death!

Is Capitalism Prehistoric?

Is capitalism, as Mussolini contends, only in its prehistoric period, then its historic development will mean a more highly developed working class than has already appeared in its first twilight stages of growth! A more highly developed working class—that is already evident to all who think and thinking can anticipate the future!

Whether capitalism rises to greater heights or sinks into decay, working class solidarity is necessarily the one unavoidable feature of social evolution and social evolution is more of a necessity to the race than is capitalism, whether most highly or most poorly developed. Increased population and the danger of overpopulation will eventually require an industrialism and culture that is both collective and co-operative not only in operation, but also in ownership and control. Economic necessity, economic determinism, makes the latter one of the probable outcomes of the future.

And so does the changing viewpoint of the working class itself. Conditions, pre- and post-war conditions, have caused the working class to become more economic than political; and more technological than sociological. They scent the fact that economics and technology are more basic and important than are politics and sociology and that with their mastery through industrial union organization the mastery of all else is not only possible but certain.

Apparently, class-consciousness was never at a lower ebb than at present. But what is really the fact, is its high percentage amid such adverse conditions. The fair-weather revolutionists have deserted the revolution. So have the parlor and the political varieties. But the proponents of economic change grow and carry on despite all hell itself. And that is some reason for encouragement, also.

Capitalism on Defensive

But the best reasons of all are to be found in the defensive tactics of capitalism itself. Everywhere capitalism bristles with militarism and force. Everywhere it crushes and intimidates; and lives in the very fear that itself creates! It was different only a quarter century ago. Then the proletarian revolution was considered as merely an academic theory, to be treated with disdain and laughed out of existence. Now it must be grappled with and **murdered** out of existence; i. e., got rid of by **every** and **any practical means** possible. Bribes, spies, jobs, fascism,—anything that will preserve and perpetuate capitalism is now resorted to!

However, that cannot go on forever. Labor notices the difference, and is encouraged by it. Capitalism now laughs on the other side of its face; and, in another quarter century it will not be laughing at all, but begging for its very existence. Times move and so does social development.

Words of Cheer for the Pioneer

WRITING from Oklahoma City, Okla., Covington Hall says, "At Newllano, the Pioneer came in just before I left, but I did not have time to read it. It sounds strange, but one can't lay down an IWW paper there without someone grabbing it and carrying it off. Many complaints were made because the Wob papers were always carried out of the library. This is a compliment to you all, I think."

Frank Jarvis pens these lines from Yakima, Washington: "As a member of the rank and file of the IWW, I would like to say a few words about our magazine. If the January number could have been improved on, I cannot see how or where.

"I intended when writing you about it to pick out some one article which seemed especially good. But, after reading from cover to cover, I saw it was not for me to judge, as every article is certainly 100 per cent.

"What struck me most forcibly on opening the January number, and sure appealed to me, was the size, type and red headline of The Preamble. It has always seemed to me that the Preamble should always be in the most conspicuous place in all of our publications."

Jim Manly, Missoula, Mont., mails in these words: "To my way of thinking, The Pioneer is getting better and better every issue. Keep it up!

"In the January issue, 'What Might Have Been,' by James Lance, is a hum-dinger. Let's have more stories like it; and it won't take so long to get what we, the working class, produce."

Even from Liverpool, England, come these words of good cheer, sent by Joe Kennedy:—

"The Industrial Pioneer is well received here, the only difficulty being that it is a little expensive for the workers here, as their wages are all gone down to the starvation point.

"But the fellows who get them tell me that they would do without a meal to get The Pioneer."

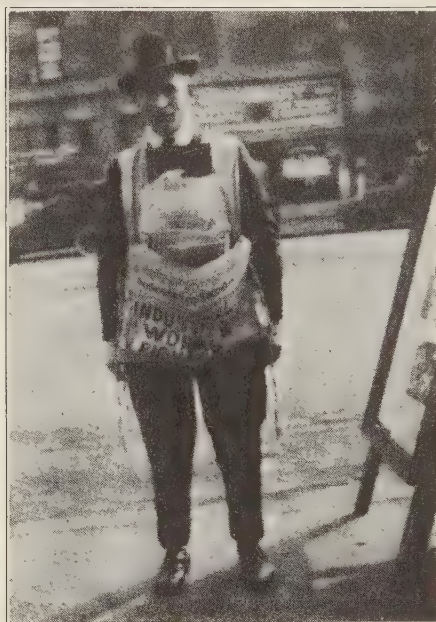
Archie Sinclair writes from 'Frisco, "the golden gate," in "the golden state":—

"I want to tell you how much I think of The Pioneer. It's just fine! It is the only labor magazine on the market.

"Until the people out here got accustomed to it we had some trouble selling it, but now the only trouble is in keeping supplied. Keep up the good work. While The Pioneer maintains the present standard it will be sold."

Edward Lloyd writes the following letter from Cleveland, Ohio:—

"Having a few minutes to myself, I thought I would drop a line and let you know that I am sending to the main office of Industrial Union No 440 for an increase of my order for The Pioneer.



OAKLAND, CAL., PIONEER NEWSBOY

"I have been receiving twenty-five, but we will go one hundred per cent better and take fifty. I hope that by the end of next month we will go another one hundred per cent.

"Everyone I have sold a paper to is very pleased with The Pioneer, and I was glad to see that a newspaper distributing agency is handling it in Chi.

"I have a bunch of fellow workers here who go into all the news stores and ask for it, and they are beginning to wonder what it is. I think after a few more doses they will be ordering some of them. A non-member I sent a sample copy to in Midland, Pa., sent in a subscription.

"Yesterday I received a letter from him asking me to send him an application blank for membership. He is a mechanical engineer and although I sent him a strong letter on Industrial Unionism, I am convinced that The Pioneer was the main factor in making him decide in favor of an application."

SELL A BUNDLE

The thing that gives the Saturday Evening Post its big circulation is its army of newsboys all over the country.

Help us interest the boys to sell The Industrial Pioneer. Get a bundle for some one of them to sell, and pay for it, until he gets going.

Or better still, tell them to write direct to The Pioneer. Bundles of five or more, 15 cents, returnable; 12 cents non-returnable.

The White Collar Worker

By ARTHUR C. WARD

HARD may seem, and hard may be, the life of the migratory and "common worker," but compare him with his fellow slave of the white collar and it will strike the observer that there is another class whose efforts to keep the traditional wolf from the threshold are as great as those of his fellow workers in overalls. In California—"golden state," "the beautiful," land of injunctions, syndicalism laws, and penitentiaries; the haunts of virtuous movie stars, Better America Federations, just judges of the Busick type and these shining monuments of veracity and honor, Coutts, Dymond, and Townsend,—especially, the white collar workers are so thoroughly guarded against any possible intrusion of working class ideals that the labor movement as a whole is utterly lost to them, rendering them helpless to combat the almost intolerable conditions: unpaid overtime, and wages insufficient and inconsistent with the training and experience required of them.

The means of keeping this class free from the consciousness of its relation to all labor, from higher wages and better conditions? They are many and shrewdly applied. To get a clerical job one must answer advertisements, interview innumerable employers or pay a placement bureau from fifteen to thirty per cent of the first month's salary.

What's Required

An advertisement usually requires that the applicant be ambitious, unafraid of work and must live home with parents. He or she must be ambitious (to prefer legendary "chances for advancement" to living wages), "unafraid of work," to take "an interest in the business" (at such wages); and to "live at home" because the applicant can then be dependent upon relations instead of the employers' insufficient wage.

If the job seeker chooses the interview he must submit to a searching verbal quizzing by the employer who conducts the examination not unlike a prosecuting attorney seeking to uncover some dark spot in the character or past of a defendant. The applicant is asked from what state he comes, what his religion is, what organizations (if any) he is a member of and what salary will "interest" him. If his figure is too high his name and address is placed "on file." If accepted he must fill out an application accounting for his time and employments for the previous five years, must be examined by a company doctor and pay him a fee, be instructed in his routine and be enrolled in the "employees' association."

The employees' association is a supposedly beneficial association which all large firms force their employees to join. It is supposed to give sick and death benefits, to arbitrate wage agreements and to carry on social meetings. However, when an employee becomes a claimant for benefits the issue is dodged and if possible ignored altogether. Sometimes the association, instead of paying death benefits conducts a collection as is the general rule in

the Western Union Employees' Association. The "association" usually puts out an official organ which stresses "efficiency," "chances for advancement," and "are you worth the money your employer invests in you?" Besides these propaganda clubs supported by the workers under the direction of the boss and for the boss there is a bulletin posted in nearly every office of any size. These bulletins carry the same version the employees' association papers do. These bulletins are illustrated to impress the worker with the duty to the employer and usually carry mottoes like: "Have a kind thought for the man above you, a good action is better than a good word." Another bulletin with an illustration of a worker chasing brightly colored bubbles labeled "the new job" is intended to impress the slave with the futility of seeking better conditions by a change of jobs.

Big Ability; Small Pay

The stenographer—that person who is supposed to be the very symbol of efficiency and speed—receives salaries so out of proportion to the amount of training, experience and ability that it is amazing how the number of girls and young men who are enticed into taking the stenographic courses is so large. A stenographer must have completed a two-year term in a secretarial or business school in addition to a regular high school education. On leaving business college the stenographer must start at from seventy-five to ninety dollars per month. A stenographer seldom gets more than \$135.00 per month no matter how extensive his or her training or experience may be. When the costs of city living, carfare and ferries to and from the office, clothes, laundry bills and rents are taken into consideration it will be seen that the white collar slave of the city ekes out an existence probably as mean and more monotonous than the migratory worker of the camps.

Alas for the white collar man, his thoughts are planned even as his bosses plan and proscribe his work and very movements! His class will be the last, no doubt, to choose organization to misery because of the mental drugging they undergo each day.

The Industrial Pioneer acknowledges receipt of two dollars, one from Covington Hall for the Lumber Workers' strike and the other from C. Q. Nelson for "the most needy fund." Both have been forwarded to Box 761, Cranbrook, B. C., Canada.

BE A BOOSTER

Are you a subscription getter for Industrial Pioneer? Our subscription list is steadily growing.

Among our best subscription getters are the readers of the Hungarian IWW organ, **Bermunkas** (Wage Worker). They send in several batches every week. **Bermunkas** boosts The Pioneer in every one of its weekly issues.

Are you a Pioneer booster, too?

Oil and the Germs of War

REVIEW BY GEO. WILLIAMS

THE world is swamped with books and pamphlets on every conceivable economic subject, and economics being a difficult study there are consequently many books of this trend that are trash. Besides, many writers with a real message on economics seem unable to serve what they have to say in an easy, digestible style, with the result that only a few are able to assimilate its contents. And even such books, it seems, require that the reader have more than common knowledge to understand them. Such books are wasted on the masses of people who have not the patience nor the intelligence to wade thru the statistics and professional phraseology that typifies this class of economic treatises.

However, there has appeared in circulation recently, a pamphlet by Scott Nearing, entitled "Oil And The Germs Of War." This pamphlet, as its name implies, deals with the dominating position that oil has acquired in international politics. It is presented simply and in such a comprehensible style that it is, as such, a distinct contrast to works of a similar nature. Nearing's pamphlet has the double value of telling you something and (by some unstandardized method) of keeping the facts in your mind ready to quote at any time. This is an achievement with any book and stamps it as worth reading.

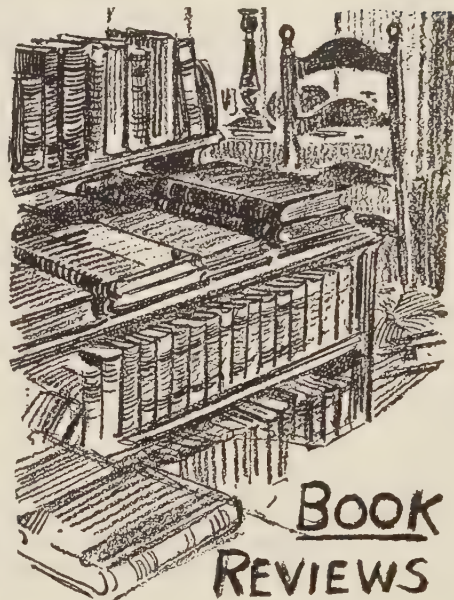
The Magic Fluid

The economic interpretators of history having recorded gold, iron and other metals as germs of past wars are now learning that the magical fluid—Oil—rates as the first economic consideration in the maneuvers of international capitalism.

Now, while oil may not have started the last world's slaughterfest, we are convinced entirely by Nearing's pamphlet that oil did end it, or, in other words, the lack of oil within the German lines and the ability of the Allies to get it in sufficient quantities, decided the victory.

But in the meantime, our friend oil, ending one war starts several more, and then yet more, until one is convinced that oil really did not stop the big fight but merely segregated it into many smaller wars, having in mind perhaps, to bring the contestants together again in one grand splurge of blood. When that transpires (which is as sure as death), what with former friends and allies(?) hacking at each others' throats and sending out their poison gas squadrons to pollute the atmosphere, perhaps then, some other force will have manifested itself; maybe an internationally industrially organized working class. But at present it is OIL and the ownership thereof that holds the reins of destiny in international politics.

We have known that agents of the large oil trusts have attended every so-called Peace Conference, and that the main (suppressed) topic was oil.



Only political platitudes reached the people and diverted their minds into a less inquisitive mood.

The dickerings of the various countries with Russia arose chiefly from oil considerations, France, the implacable enemy of the present Russian government has had injury added to rage by the clever soviet financiers who liquidated the old Russian debt to France by purchasing the Czarist bonds at ridiculously low prices. Yet France with all her animosity deals with Russia about a mysterious something. That something is Oil. And what of the latest scandal in American politics—Oil again.

The importance of oil comes, of course, because of its application to power machinery of various sorts: airplanes, automobiles, motor trucks, warships, submarines, are mostly all motivated by oil products. Thus the nation without oil is totally handicapped in the necessary implements of war; while nations controlling the supply of oil will dominate in international politics.

Common Sense

That is common sense, and Nearing, to repeat again, tells it so that common folks can read and understand. And when common folks, or the working class, grasp the significance of these things, it will be only a short logical step to reason thus: If war and peace lie in the hands of those in control of oil, then we the workers who produce oil WILL organize and control the output of oil and the purposes to which it is put. In that way we can surely abolish all wars.

(Oil and The Germs of War, Scott Nearing. Nellie Seeds Nearing, Ridgewood, New Jersey).

The Crane Doctor Who's an Ostrich

BY PETER FORBES

STRANGE things get into the articles from the pens of our celebrated writers. In the Chicago American of January 18, Dr Frank Crane, advises us to "Get Away from The Cities Into The Open Spaces." And in so doing he makes it a little hard to tell whether he is trying to spring a little joke, or is merely a quack, as many other doctors are. Possibly he's not a crane, but an ostrich who sticks his head in the sand!

In trying to account for the presence of large numbers in the cities, the Dr. declares:—

"One reason, perhaps, is that the multitudes are cowardly and lazy. In cities they can easily go out and get good food, done up in attractive packages, at a grocery store. In the country they have to hustle for themselves—raise their own grain, and kill their own meat."

Since when has it become possible for persons in the cities to go to the grocery store and get good food done up in attractive packages without having to hustle for it—excepting those, of course, that are fortunate enough to have others doing the hustling for them?

Within the last ten days the Chicago-American printed a news item stating that in 1922-1923, 108,000 persons had lost their farm holdings; and, according to John F. Sinclair of Minneapolis, President of the John F. Sinclair banking corporation, speaking in the interests of 310 small bankers in the four states of North and South Dakota, Montana and Minnesota, farm mortgages have increased there from \$169,000,000 in 1910 to \$530,000,000 in 1920. The taxes paid by these same farmers increased from \$90,000,000 to \$206,000,000 and the short time loans raised by the farmers at high interest have swelled from \$700,000,000 to \$1,200,000,000 in the same time.

In the face of these conditions, which are driving the farmers into the cities, the Dr., like the quack physician he appear to be, advises city people to go out into the open places! It sure is bad advice to give the inexperienced, when those of experience struggle so hard and fail!

I would suggest that Lloyd George and Dr. Crane go out into the open places and try farming for a few years and then come back and tell us how it is done! If they succeed they would thereby build a monument to themselves in the minds of large numbers of people that would rank equally with that of Moses, who also led his race out of the wilderness into the promised land. However, Lloyd George finds it more profitable to dabble in politics, while Dr. Crane finds it more profitable to write the twaddle with which his name is associated.

I believe that they both are well aware of the fact that to bring about the change that H. G. Wells speaks of, and to which the Dr. refers, necessitates a basic transformation in society—from the private ownership of land and industries to collective ownership; also from production for profit

to production for use. But here's where the Doctor's malpractice comes in; he hasn't got the courage to say this; and so blames the drift from the country to cities, not on the economic forces that cause it, but on the victims thereof! Can such writers be aught else than jokes; or be taken seriously? Are they facing facts, or hiding from them?

I was born and raised on a farm in Central Illinois. Our folks finally moved to a small town, where I went to school for a year or two. Now, when I meet an old schoolmate and ask him or her where some of the others are, invariably the reply is, in some town or city. Why? Simply because there was no opportunity to hustle a living in the country!

Protests Loss Personality

IN the October issue of the Industrial Pioneer was a reprint of a statement by a college dean on modern business organization. On the joke page is a good description of its human product in a story of a fellow who called himself a machinist because of working in an automobile factory putting on bolt number fourteen.

On bottom of business management reprint I attached the joke referred to (look it up in order to get the point). I gave the two combined clippings two titles respectively — "The Mountain heaved and brought forth a mole" (Old testament Bible) and "The Inverted Pyramid." Then wrote a brief note telling party clipping was mailed to that I hoped I did not offend by sending what I believe would interest him.

The interpretation of the above could be outlined thus—development of human resources of the nation is as important as conserving the natural resources of the nation; in fact, more important; for a nation is measured and strengthened according to the quality of its personal units.

If business, in the name of efficiency, backed by low cunning, deprives a citizen of opportunity to become skilled, resourceful, self-reliant and independent of any one boss or "one process" union for an existence, such employers commit treason as much as have the patriotic officials in depriving the navy of its fuel reserves. **Pennsylvanian.**

BOOST THE IWW PRESS!

PUSH THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



THE DEATH OF LENIN

LENIN'S death has removed from life a statesman of immense ability and an idealist of the first water. A man of simple tastes, great courage and sacrifice, Lenin possessed a canny prevision, that prophetic foresight which enables true statesmen to anticipate and take advantage of remote developments. To these, he added the synthetic qualities of real leadership: the personality and power to weld and direct divergent tendencies together into one strong whole for definite ends. And his prevision and leadership combined made possible his constructive genius; those Napoleonic qualities that made him the foremost organizer of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russia.

Lenin was a great man who vindicated the great man theory. Around him and through him great achievements whirled and left their impress far beyond the confines of their origin and enactment. At the same time, Lenin also exposes the weaknesses of that theory. For, broadly speaking, it was not paralysis, but the burdens of dictatorship that killed Lenin. In him, the system which he personified broke down, as does, in the long run, every top-heavy system of excessive centralization. It broke down in Rome, destroying Rome as it fell. It broke down in Germany, in the labor movement particularly; crucifying the German working class. And now it is breaking down in Russia, killing Lenin.

Nor was Lenin, great man that he was, great enough to save the system of so-called workers' dictatorship itself. Born of a political misconception, namely, that all power resides in the state, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which Lenin personified, had its course dictated by something even more powerful than the state, namely, economic development. Russia was and is most largely a dictatorship of peasant and foreign interests. They have deflected communist statecraft and molded the Russian state in the likeness of their interests, just as state ownership under populism would make the proletariat subversive to the farmer interests, were such a thing ever possible here. To all of which Lenin, perforce, was compelled to give unwilling approval.

Of course, it is foolish to call Lenin, the destroyer of Russia and to hold him responsible for all of its misfortunes, including the famine and the serious impairment of its industries; though the excessive adulation of some of his admirers justifies such a course. Russia is far from being destroyed; and it is too vast a country for any one man to destroy. In addition, its misfortunes are not attributable to Lenin, but to the world war, blockade, white terror, drought, famine, and other evils too numerous to specify. It was these that not only overwhelmed Russia, but Lenin, too;

making of him its heroic and yet broken leader—as heroic and as broken as is Russia herself. And praise, not condemnation, should be Lenin's just as it is bound to be Russia's. Amid terrific problems both have done nobly and well! The only misfortune has been, so far as the American workers are concerned, the attempt to fasten the policies born of Russian exigencies, on the labor movement of this country. To this is much misunderstanding due.

What can we say that would express our admiration for Lenin more than these words:

Oh, America, where is your Lenin?

Oh, for a Lenin here! Oh, for an American with the many sided genius and idealism of a Lenin!

THE RISE OF RAMSAY McDONALD

THE rise to power of Ramsay McDonald does not seem to have affected the nerves of capitalism any. After the failures of both Lenin and Ebert, capitalism may have come to realize that economic determinism is, after all, the only voter worth while; and as he confers economic mastery on it by his ballot, there is nothing in the rise of a labor premier to be afraid of. Especially when such a premier is in favor of tory measures to relieve unemployment and is only representative of the left-wing of liberalism, owing his ascendancy to its trades and dickers.

Had Ramsay McDonald been a Bolshevik, projected into power as a result of social breakdown, his reception might have been different. But as a creature of compromise, as a sort of coalition victor, a labor marionette, consulting with and fawning upon royalty, and acting in the interests of British imperialism primarily, what is there for the capitalists to fear in him? On the contrary, they can charge their own failures to Ramsay McDonald's alleged proletarianism and so give the cause of the workers another black eye, as they did in the similar case of Frederick Ebert before him.

Contrary to the capitalists, some workers see in the rise of Ramsay McDonald a recognition of the growing ascendancy of the proletariat. They believe Ramsay McDonald's election a great advance for the workers, reflective of its increasing strength. With English trades unionism at its weakest and the British army of unemployed at its highest mark, where is the basis for such belief? Is there increased strength in a weakened unionism and adverse economic conditions?

Evidently, history is repeating itself. Germany has taught capitalism the preservative value of political socialism of the moderate school—and Ramsay McDonald's political socialism is ultra-moderate, being essentially of the Fabian middle-class bureaucratic type, with its pronounced capitalist-liberal tendencies.

Wilson

ELECTED to keep us out of war, he betrayed the confidence reposed in him.

Urging a "war for democracy," he later stated that that war was an economic and commercial war.

Espousing the new freedom, he fastened conscription, espionage, militarism, in a word, oppression, on this country, in the interests of the very capitalists against whom his creed was directed.

Posing as the world's idealist and liberator, he supported a league of extermination that persecuted proletarian internationalism, outlawed Russia and Germany, and promoted the most reactionary imperialism possible, namely, that of international capitalism.

Touring this country seeking vindication for his traitorous policies, the workers' heckling unnerved him, paralysis struck him down, and the electorate whom he once betrayed, subsequently repudiated him and relegated him to the obscurity from which Death has made it possible for him to temporarily emerge.

Dead, who among intelligent workers will think of Wilson if not to despise him?

A man who had the greatest of greatness thrust upon him, though most presumptuous he proved least equal to the opportunity.

His one virtue was his idealism, which his weaknesses always caused him to betray.

Wilson—forget him! There's great work ahead!

Teapot Dome!

IN last month's Industrial Pioneer, in the article, "The Lumber Monopoly Exposed," it was shown that this gigantic and most profitable combination of capital was not founded upon superior ability, self-sacrifice, enterprise, or any other similar qualities, but upon bribery and theft; and, above all, upon corrupt corporate control of the machinery of government.

Now comes Teapot Dome, to show how other monopolies are built on precisely the same qualities of crookedness. Here we find the same imperilling of national and social safety for private profit through the corrupt use of corporate funds in high governmental places. Capitalists and governmental officials are all tarred alike.

Teapot Dome is also evidence of the one-hundred-percent patriotism of "our" capitalists and authorities. To pilfer the oil reserves of the nation for profit via corruption—'twas ever thus with the most strenuous flag-wavers and "red" hunters.

From the Roosevelts, Denbys and Daughertys, down to the Sinclairs and Dohenys, Teapot Dome proves once more the superlative scoundrelism of the superlative patriots.

THE WORKER



—THE FUTURE
CONQUEROR!

Railroaders Boost Pioneer

FROM a railroad division point comes the following letter:—

For enclosed check of \$4.00 please send to the following: (Here two names and addresses appear.)

This is from a conductor and an engineer who do their own thinking. There are many others that have not yet got to the point of getting under the burden.

Believe me there are many of us that would belong to the IWW if we dared to, for we know that this is the only Labor Organization there is and ours is only an insurance institution or a banking affair.

Please keep our names out of publication, as we are in hopes of helping the circulation of this fine monthly further in the future.

Next Month!

Next Month!

Articles on Coal and Oil Industries
with Photos!

Is the Business Recession Ended?

THE technological journal, Management and Administration, discussing industrial and trade conditions, expresses the belief that the "period of recession appears to have ended." This will prove welcome news to those wage workers who are beginning to feel the pinch of unemployment. So also will the further statement, "the general upward movement should begin by March at the latest."

Management and Administration further declares "there must either be a recovery or we must proceed along present levels," which illustrates the uncertainty that always attends a business recession. There is no definite prophesy possible, as a result the technological prophet so qualifies his prophecies as to meet alternatives. But even there, he may be wrong, for conditions are just as likely to grow worse instead of better or remain passable. That's a way they have in periods of recession; the optimists to the contrary notwithstanding.

Management and Administration emphasizes the fact that there has already been "a very considerable recession in business." The Federal Reserve Board's index of production in basic industries declined from 146 in October to 144 in November. The index of production in manufacturing industries between the same months fell from 133 to 126. Railway tonnage declined from 126 in October to 125 in November, and then fell to 116 in December. (All these figures are based on the average for 1921 as 100.)

Management and Administration concludes "That there has been a sharp decrease in the quantity of goods produced is apparent, and a further decrease in the production in basic industries is likely. In view of the danger of overproduction which existed during the first half of 1923, however, this decrease is wholesome and may be considered as a necessary correction and adjustment in the industrial mechanism."

Is There a "Correction"?

But is it a "correction"? The writer has lived through four recessions, depressions, crises, and panics, as they are variously called, and any talk of "correction" seems amusing to him. Each one appears to be worse than the other, creating war and nearly throwing civilization into the scrap heap, as a climax. Yes, it's "some correction" that the industrial mechanism undergoes. It reminds us of the lady who is certain that her latest operation is the last and the best of the half-dozen or more that she has already undergone, with worse results to herself each time. There's no lack of optimism, but the evidence is wanting.

Take Leland Olds, industrial editor, Federated Press, for instance. Contrast his views with those of Management and Administration. Says he:

"Difficult times ahead in which business men struggle to force business to hold its own is our

forecast for 1924. Employment with some seasonal variations will gradually decline. Wage reductions will showily overtake and pass wage increases. The end will be a new regimentation of the American working class in huge semi-skilled mass producing units like Henry Ford's in this country or the great Ruhr industries in Germany.

"Difficult Times" Ahead

"The difficult times will not necessarily produce a financial crisis except for numerous individual concerns which still maintain their partial independence of the financial dynasty. These will be forced to choose between absorption into the great combines or financial ruin. In the process, labor's standards will be depressed and its independence curtailed.

"This forecast is based upon a review of the following facts:

"(1) The year 1923 has been one of forced business and industrial activity. Full industrial activity has been called forth by an investors' rather than a consumers' demand. The result has been further overdevelopment of the majority of industries similar to that which produces the cutthroat competition preceding the formation of giant trusts in the steel and oil industries.

"(2) Contrary to most forecasts of a year ago the peak of industrial activity was reached in April, since when there has been a very slow but real decline in industrial activity and a growth of unemployment. As a result of our immense gold surplus and the federal reserve banking system the passing of prosperity appears as a gradual fading rather than a crisis.

Increased Labor Supply

"(3) The steady increase in labor supply resulting from a net immigration of over half a million, coupled with a migration from country to city of at least double that number has raised the number of applicants for industrial jobs until they largely exceed the demand of employers. The steady introduction of labor saving machines and efficiency methods is accelerating this process. Only a successful fight for materially shorter hours can counteract this tendency toward part time and unemployment.

"(4) The improvement in domestic demand for the products of industry has been exaggerated. The real increase in the farmers' purchasing power is nearer \$200,000,000 than the \$2,000,000,000 commonly described in business propaganda. Labor is not spending such wages as are left after the landlord has made his grab; the lesson of 1920-1921 is still fresh. This is shown by the increase in savings deposits.

"(5) In spite of higher prices the volume of wholesale trade in the New York federal reserve district in November showed a decline over the same month of the previous year. The decline from

October was 24 per cent while the normal decline is only 18 per cent.

"(6) The possible recovery of Europe is no longer recognized as a sure cure. Business men are by no means sure what effect this will have on American industry. The fact that the United States is now a creditor nation coupled with the vast expansion of Europe's productive power may cause Europe to come in not as a market but as a brutal competitor for our own domestic market as well as for the markets of Asia, Africa and South America. Low wages and long hours in Europe are a serious threat to the position of the American worker.

"(7) Business men feel that a period of "difficult times" is coming. They are bending every effort to defer those evil times as far as possible by forcing business to the best of their ability. But the powers that be know that such times must come and welcome the changes which will result. Generally speaking 1925 is looked upon as the probable time when they will arrive.

"(8) This situation was bound to result from the monopolization by a small group of private owners of all that each country produces over and above a bare subsistence for the producers. The surplus is collected by so-called protective tariffs and by excess profits and interest charges which so raise the cost of everything that the products of one group of workers will exchange for an unduly small proportion of the products of other groups of workers. This appears to the farmer and the wage earner as an increase in the cost of living, that is, as an increase in the amount of his labor which he must exchange for the bare essentials of life. If the rights of this small group of private owners to all the surplus could be eliminated the excess productivity of the modern world could be absorbed without creating unemployment, by the establishment of vastly shorter hours or a wider diffusion of comforts, or both."

In the meanwhile, what is there left for the workers to do, but to organize to the utmost, pending the coming of these "difficult times"? How else can they secure "the establishment of vastly shorter hours or a wider diffusion of comforts, or both"? How else can they prevent their own complete dehumanization in the regimentation plans of big capitalism?

Organize, workers! Organize not only in your own defense, but also for your own emancipation! Lose no time! Do it now!

A SECOND EDEN

By RALPH JOHNSON

Do you wish this world were better?

Then we'll tell you what to do:

Join the union of the workers,

Help to oust the greedy few.

Rid your mind of selfish motives;

Let your thoughts be clean and high;

You can make a second Eden

Of this world you occupy.

History and Civics

(Continued from page 8)

teaching profession been wedded to authority and conformity, it possesses no capacity for leadership. Our educators are a species of "domesticated animals"—with the psychology that accompanies these products of agelong submission and dependence. The real hope of education lies rather in the rise to power in the social body of the world's producers: the men and women who are closest to the soil and toil of civilization, the men and women whose enslaved lot makes conformity mean death and revolution mean life: hope lies in the rise of this class to supreme power and with that supremacy the elimination of all classes based on economic domination—the taking of the world's destinies once for all out of the hands of ignorant and cunning gamblers for the stakes of wealth and power for the few at the expense of the many, and the assumption of these powers by those whose very training in struggle has dictated a socially conscious partnership of all producers in the assurance of opportunity and well-being for all.

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